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FBIS-SOV-88-122 CONTENTS *24 June 1988*

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Restructuring Process in Foreign Policy Discussed 1
  'Democratization' Advocated *[Zagladin in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 23 Jun]* 1
  'Mistakes', 'Changes' Cited 3
Gerasimov, Shishlin on Conference, Arms Treaty *[Prague MLADA FRONTA 16 Jun]* 4
Toronto Economic Summit Documents Reviewed *[PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 5
Proceedings of Berlin Nuclear-Free-Zones Meeting 6
  21 Jun Session 6
  'Initiatives' Debated 7
  Conference Concludes 7
  Demichev Returns to Moscow 8
Prosecutor Sukharev, Lawyers Group Chief Meet *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Jun]* 8

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Pogodin Views Canadian Expulsion Decision 9
U.S. Businessman Proposes Industrial Cooperation 9
Soviet Peace Fund Group Ends Visit to U.S. 9

Northeast Asia

Working-Level Talks With Japan Open in Moscow *[Tokyo NHK Television]* 9
Takeshita's Remarks on Kurile Islands Scored *[PRAVDA 24 Jun]* 10

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV Ready To Attend Jakarta Meeting *[Alekseyev]* 10
Jakarta Talks on Cambodia Welcomed *[Barakhta in PRAVDA 21 Jun]* 11
PRK's Hun Sen Cited on Vietnamese Withdrawal *[PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 11
Modern Role of Cambodian Armed Forces Described *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 19 Jun]* 12
Election of Do Muoi as SRV Premier Reported 13
  Greeted by Council 13
Katushev Confers With Indonesian Trade Minister *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jun]* 13
Deputy Premier Tolstykh Receives Lao Official *[PRAVDA 21 Jun]* 13
Thai-U.S. F-16 Jet Deal Criticized *[Vladimirov]* 13
Supreme Soviet's Voss Receives Australian Group 14

Near East & South Asia

Ministry Officials Assess Afghan Withdrawal 14
Rebel 'Government', Pakistani Violations Noted 14
  Rival Groups Examined *[Shurygin in PRAVDA 21 Jun]* 14
  U.S. Stance Criticized *[Kornilov]* 15
  Rebels Target UN Mission 16
  Pakistani Role Cited *[Malikov]* 16
Najibullah Addresses Afghan Party Plenum 17
UN's Diego Cordovez Meets POW Rescue Group 18
Afghanistan Port Project Contract Signed 18
U.S. General Implicated in Ziaul Haq Actions 18
Iranian Guerrilla Group Captures Mehran 19
Tunisia Thanks Ukraine for Support on Abu Jihad *[Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA 16 Jun]* 19

Sub-Saharan Africa

- French, U.S. Intentions in Horn of Africa Noted *[Stepanov]* 19
- Skiba, CPSU Delegation End Zimbabwe Visit *[PRAVDA 21 Jun]* 20
  - Return to Moscow *[PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 20

East Europe

- Hungary's Varkonyi Assesses Moscow Summit *[PRAVDA 21 Jun]* 20
- MSZMP-RCP Talks on Relations Proposed *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 22

West Europe

- Military Chiefs Bid Farwell to Finnish Minister *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 11 Jun]* 22
- Kamentsev Holds Fishing Talks With Norwegians *[IZVESTIYA 23 Jun]* 22
- Italian CP Faces Time of 'Serious Reflection' *[PRAVDA 22 Jun]* 23
- Gorbachev Congratulates Italian CP's Occhetto *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 23

Latin America & Caribbean

- U.S. 'Pseudoliberalization' in Haiti Fails *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Jun]* 23
- Fidel Castro Comments on Salvador Allende 24
- Envoy to Mexico on Gorbachev Visit, Relations *[Mexico City EL DIA 20 Jun]* 25

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

- Latest Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Issue 26
  - Republican Press Reviewed *[Baku]* 26
  - Armenian Press Summarized *[Yerevan]* 26
  - 'Deliberate' Gas Leak in Armenia *[AFP]* 26
- Patiashvilo on Nagorno-Karabakh, Tatar Problems 26
- Red Army 'Ignores' Nagorno-Karabakh Agitation *[Istanbul MILLYET 21 Jun]* 27
- Readers' Letters Address Karabakh Dispute *[PRAVDA 24 Jun]* 28
- Platform of Estonian 'People's Front' Published *[Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA 7 Jun]* 29
- Estonian Party Leader Vyalyas on Independence *[Helsinki]* 30
- Lithuanian Secretary on Conference Proposals 30
- Lithuanian Proposals to Conference Published 31
- Latvians Censure Stalin, Urge More Freedom *[Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA 11 Jun]* 31
- 19th Party Conference Press Center Opens 23 Jun 34
  - Sklyarov: 'No Foreign Guests' 34
  - TV, Radio Coverage Outlined 35
  - Amending Constitution Discussed 35
  - Smirnov on Soviets' Role 36
  - Conference Duration Undetermined *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 24 Jun]* 37
- NOVOSTI's Shakhova on Election Democracy *[Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA 21 Jun]* 38
- Editor Yakovlev on Perestroyka, Conference 39
- Supreme Court Chairman on Judicial Reforms *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 17]* 39
- Sociologists Ponder Ways To Combat Bureaucracy 45
  - Strength Explained *[Ponomarev, Shinkarenko in IZVESTIYA 18 May]* 45
  - Changing the Mechanism *[Ponomarev, Shinkarenko in IZVESTIYA 19 May]* 48
- Raykom Official on Cadres, Criticism of Leaders *[IZVESTIYA 16 Jun]* 51
- Readers Discuss Party Conference Themes *[PRAVDA 4 Jun]* 52
- Dobrynin Attends 'Celebratory Meeting' 53
- RSFSR's V.A. Kaznacheyev Appointed Minister 53
- RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session Held *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 9 Jun]* 53
- Afghanistan Veterans Welcomed Into Militia *[PRAVDA 14 Jun]* 54
- News Conference Marks End of Church Festivities *[IZVESTIYA 19 Jun]* 54
- Briefing Held To Explain Ukraine Food Shortages *[Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY 15 Jun]* 55
- Statistics Cited for AIDS Incidence *[TRUD 18 Jun]* 56

Central Committee Adopts Sociology Decision *[PRAVDA 12 Jun]* ... 56
Official Views Results of Opinion Poll *[Sedov, Ivanov]* ... 57
Glasnost, Law, Democracy Discussed *[PRAVDA 19 Jun]* ... 58
Moral Duty of Communists Discussed *[Tsybulskiy in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 16 Jun]* ... 65
Briefs ... 66
  Armenian Womens' Organization ... 66
  Kazakh Education Minister *[Alma-Ata]* ... 66

Economic

Abalkin News Conference on Management Reform ... 67
Problems of Poverty, Living Standard Discussed *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 1 Jun]* ... 67

Agricultural

Murakhovskiy Attends VASKHNIL Meeting *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 16 Jun]* ... 69
Nikonov Speech Chides Chelyabinsk Farmers *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 16 Jun]* ... 69

Scientific

'Cosmos-1956' Satellite Launched 23 Jun ... 73
Launching Planned for Two Spacecraft to Mars ... 73

Military

Transcaucasus Civil Defense Issues Discussed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Jun]* ... 73
V.M. Arkhipov Signs Obituary of N.P. Dagayev *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Jun]* ... 73
Women War Veterans Complain of Poor Reward ... 74

Restructuring Process in Foreign Policy Discussed

'Democratization' Advocated

PM2306131188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1

["Precis of Party Conference Speech" by Vadim Zagladin: "The Priority of Trust"—boldface as published]

[Text] Much is being said, both in our own country and all over the world, about our contemporary foreign policy and the changes which have taken place during the years of restructuring in the activity of the Land of the Soviets in the international arena. The most diverse and even contradictory opinions are being expressed. But one thing is certain: Interest in the Soviet Union's foreign policy plans and initiatives, in what it does or intends to do, is growing by leaps and bounds. And this is only natural, as a matter of fact. It is natural in view of our country's weight and its role in the world community's life. It is also natural because a lot has changed in our foreign policy in the last few years, and these changes have been quite substantial.

The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference indicate why this became necessary. It became necessary primarily because the world itself has changed, and our actions had to take this into account. Especially since, for a long time, we had failed to notice the changes that had occurred and had not properly analyzed them. This was the result of a dogmatic and subjectivist approach which was demonstrated not only inside the country but also in foreign affairs. Of course, a renewal in foreign policy became necessary also because restructuring was launched inside the country.

Any state's foreign and domestic policies are closely interlinked. As regards our own country, however, this link has perhaps never been as close and as organic as it is today.

Restructuring is substantially changing the face of our country, reviving the full, unabridged, and undistorted ideal of socialism, and improving the functioning of its economic and political system. It is perfectly obvious that all this should have been and could not have failed to be reflected in the country's activity in the international arena. Restructuring, the CPSU Central Committee Theses point out, "needed a foreign policy that would properly express its humanist nature and demanded the democratization of our international links and a different position for the country in the worldwide division of labor."

Soon after the 27th CPSU Congress, the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a broad conference devoted to the results and prospects of the country's foreign policy activity. USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze read a report at the conference. A long and principled speech was delivered by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. That marked the beginning of a serious and dynamic process, which is essentially continuing to this day and whose objective is to attain a level of practical activity corresponding with the ideas of restructuring on the basis of renewal of the foreign policy concept in the spirit of these ideas.

Our country's opponents abroad often try to detect some retreat from socialism and its norms in the foreign policy ideas of restructuring, in the new thinking. These attempts hold nothing but disappointment in store for them.

Even at the 27th party congress the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the congress noted: "For our part, we are prepared to do everything within our power to radically change the international situation for the better. Socialism has no need to abandon either its principles or its ideals in order to achieve this."

We are talking about effecting a profound improvement of the country's foreign policy activity actually on the basis of socialist principles and ideals. And this is being done. The CPSU Central Committee Theses indicate the main avenues of changes occurring in this sphere.

There is obviously no need to paraphrase what is clearly and unambiguously stated in our party document. Nevertheless, I would like to single out certain typical aspects of our policy in the international arena as they appear now, in the 4th year of restructuring.

First, an organic combination of the fundamental interests of socialism and paramount universal interests is typical of our policy today. By bringing to the foreground the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the attainment of a nuclear-free world, our country proves: Yes, common interests of all mankind do exist, and they in no way contradict the interests of socialism. And we are elaborating and implementing our line in world affairs in close cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries.

Second, our foreign policy today consistently relies on taking into account not only our country's interests but also the interests of all members of the world community. Any other approach would be ineffective and doomed to failure in an interconnected and interdependent world.

Third, our foreign policy, actively operating along state lines and expanding all-around dialogue with all countries, at the same time has a broad appeal to the masses. The combination of state and people's diplomacy is an aspect of our policy which makes it intelligible to the masses and involves all social forces in the solution of mankind's common problems.

Finally, **fourth,** our foreign policy fuses into an integral whole the interests of defending universal values and of mankind's survival and the interests of social progress.

The main point here is the consistent upholding and affirmation of the principle of freedom of choice—social, economic, political—by every people and every country.

The foreign policy line currently being implemented, whose foundations were formulated in M.S. Gorbachev's widely known statement of 15 January 1986 known as the plan for a nuclear-free world and in the program for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security adopted by the 27th party congress, is producing its results. This is clearly said in the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference. The first specific steps toward nuclear disarmament have been taken—the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been concluded and has come into force. An acute regional conflict is being resolved—our troops are returning home from Afghanistan. The overall situation in the world has improved over the last 3 years and has become more stable and more predictable. The direct threat of war involving major powers has diminished and our country's foreign policy position has become stronger.

Every Soviet person can legitimately feel pleased with what has been done, with the results of the work that has been done. We must, of course, be well aware that all this is the result not only of our own actions but also of the active work done by our allies, our friends, social forces, and all statesmen and politicians in the West who take a realistic stance. Mankind's salvation is our common cause, and all who value the future make their contribution toward it.

Naturally, the work aimed at further improving the world situation, at reducing the threat of war as much as possible and then eliminating it altogether, is far from finished. Essentially, it has only just begun and now it has to be energetically continued.

What is needed for this purpose? A lot. Including, in line with the principles of restructuring, a deeper democratization of foreign policy. What does this mean in practice? We are primarily talking about the further improvement of the process of making state, including foreign policy, decisions in line with our party's program stipulations.

Speaking of the work by the CPSU Central Committee and its apparatus, the elaboration of decisions now, especially since the 27th party congress, involves active and permanent participation not only by members of the party leadership but also by a growing number of Central Committee members and secretaries of local party organs. As for the apparatus, it relies in its activity on a growing number of aktiv members from various spheres of scientific and political life. Nonetheless, work along this avenue can evidently be continued, envisaging in particular broader collective discussion of fundamental decisions including participation by a significant number of Central Committee members, secretaries of interested party organs, and rank and file Communists.

Major powers in the foreign policy sphere have been vested in the USSR Supreme Soviet, in line with the Constitution. But hitherto it has far from fully utilized its rights and potential. There is only irregular discussion of foreign policy problems at USSR Supreme Soviet sessions. The work of the Foreign Affairs Commissions of both the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities needs to be revitalized. It is in any case clear that the commissions could have much fuller discussions of foreign policy decisions before they are adopted. It is worth giving some thought in the future to the commissions' composition so that they might include, together with representatives of various strata of the country's public, more specialists from different spheres connected with international activity. So far, their number has been simply inadequate.

The country's public can make a major contribution to the work on discussing and even implementing foreign policy actions. After all, people's diplomacy does not mean only our state addressing the public in other countries, but also increasingly broad participation by Soviet social forces and organizations in the discussion, determination, and implementation of foreign policy measures.

An intensification of our society's intellectual potential would make it possible to extend the ideas of the new thinking and to consolidate the scientific foundation of our foreign policy strategy on the basis of strict realism and objectivity. It was the switch of our policy to a strictly realistic basis and the close coupling of scientific analysis, scientific forecasting, and political decisions that guaranteed our initial successes. The CPSU Central Committee's international subdivisions and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs now constantly rely on science in their work. It is clear that, in the long run, this reliance must become increasingly strong.

It is also evident that this makes great demands of scientific institutions. Unfortunately, by no means everything is perfectly in order in this regard. For example, there are still insufficient basic research studies of new international processes and there are few considered and in-depth forecasts examining different options of the world situation's development. All this has to be done. It is evident that the forthcoming setting up of a special USSR Academy of Sciences department to unite institutes dealing with international problems will make it possible to take a new step forward in this direction.

It is understandable that all this presupposes the continuation of the policy of glasnost in the foreign policy sphere. Much has already been done in this sphere. The work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is regularly reported in the VESTNIK MINISTERSTVA INOSTRANNYKH DEL and at regular briefings and press conferences. The press has finally launched a discussion of foreign policy problems.

True enough, at present this discussion centers mainly on the past and, in my view, it has produced both correct opinions and insufficiently considered ideas which are not backed by a serious analysis of documents, the course of events, and the consequences of past decisions. All this is evidently still to come.

But today's foreign policy problems could also be more energetically discussed in the press. Moreover, this ought to be done in such a fashion that every speaker's own "personality" and his views and suggestions could become more individual as well as more constructive.

And how about questions of foreign economic activity? It is perfectly obvious that this sphere is exceptionally important not only from the economic but also from the purely political viewpoint. Practice shows that trade and broad scientific and technical exchanges reliably serve the cause of ensuring peace. The first steps in the direction of our country's more effective involvement in the world economy have already been taken. But only the first steps. Our central foreign economic organs, as well as our enterprises and their associations which have been given the right of access to the world market, have still not learned to do business with foreign partners in a modern, efficient, and sufficiently energetic fashion.

The CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference say that, in today's conditions, "possibilities are opening up for opposing the threat to peace on a broader social and political basis than before and creating the grounds for resolving mankind's global problems through the joint efforts of the world community." Our party and our state will energetically and persistently act for the sake of these goals. But in order to ensure that their activity produces proper results, we need further, as energetic as ever, implementation of the measures on restructuring our country's profoundly humanitarian and peace-loving activity in the international arena, on which work began after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum.

'Mistakes', 'Changes' Cited

LD2306223688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with Vitaliy Vladimirovich Zhurkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Vitaliy Vladimirovich, the CPSU Central Committee Theses state that there has been a fundamental change in the aims of the foreign policy activities of our state. How in your opinion has this been expressed?

[Zhurkin] Well, first of all it must be said that the sphere of restructuring, foreign policy is perhaps a particularly complex and particularly responsible sphere. Great political willpower and great courage have been required to break down the inertia that came about as a result of a number of onerous miscalculations and mistakes of the quite recent past. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has begun. Implementation of a program for nuclear disarmament has begun. It is acknowledged that we permitted ourselves to become drawn into the arms race without using all political methods to influence the international situation. This means that in the future, we shall use them and are already doing so.

A very important sphere is verification of the process of reducing armaments. For 40 years we sat here vaguely on the political defensive, and now for 2.5 years we have been morally on the offensive. In brief I would say this: that the intellectual leadership in the sphere of foreign policy and the solution of problems in international relations is being taken by our country.

[Correspondent] A sharply critical discussion of various issues is characteristic of our domestic life at the present time, but so far as foreign policy is concerned, things are by no means going as far as criticism and discussion in this area. This sphere—the sphere of relations with other states—is, of course, a very complex and very delicate one. But nevertheless what have you to say about it?

[Zhurkin] Well, delicate things are delicate. But in this sphere a considerable amount is being done and at the same time, however paradoxical, little is being done as yet. Let us take, for instance, glasnost, which is on everyone's mind. Glasnost has enhanced our state's prestige and has enhanced our influence throughout the world. In the final analysis it has helped to strengthen our security. At the same time, glasnost is not always sufficient. Take an elementary example. The majority of states throughout the world, both big and small, publish data about the numerical strength of their armed forces and their various armaments and much else. Unfortunately we are still strongly lagging behind in this sphere. However, excessive secrecy always brings about a situation where the other side begins to assess your potential and your intentions in the worst possible way. It means that this nudges the other side on to the path of the arms race. Therefore this is harmful to the security of your own country.

Let us take the sphere of mistakes that have been made. The mistakes have been rectified, and that is very important. But it is even more important to create a system and to create a well-functioning mechanism which would avert mistakes, or at least minimize the chances of such mistakes. Such a mechanism is being created. An enormous amount of work is being done, but it definitely needs to be speeded up. This is our duty to the people and our duty to our own conscience.

Gerasimov, Shishlin on Conference, Arms Treaty

AU2306122588 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 16 Jun 88 p 5

[Martin Komarek and Ivana Stepankova report on a news conference given by G. Gerasimov, spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and N. Shishlin, deputy head of a CPSU Central Committee department, in Prague on 15 June: "Summit Without a Sensation Is a Sensation"—boldface as published]

[Text] **N. Shishlin, deputy head of a CPSU Central Committee department, and G. Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke about the preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the results of the Moscow meeting between M. Gorbachev and R. Reagan at a news conference in Prague yesterday.**

Without an opening statement, the two representatives immediately answered a multitude of journalists' questions, concerning various spheres. MLADA FRONTA also asked questions on behalf of its readers: **The well-known Soviet journalist Bovin depicted the elections to the party conference as deception. There are people who agree with him. Others stress that it was a highly democratic act. Where is the truth?**

N. Shishlin: That is a simple question. The truth is in the truth. Bovin has also published his opinion in PRAVDA [truth]—in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, of course. The facts lie probably somewhere in the middle between these two extreme opinions. The CPSU Central Committee recommended that the elections be held in a democratic manner, that resolute proponents of restructuring be elected as delegates. Were they really elected? The answer is: Yes and no. The outcome of the elections, namely, reflected the local situation. I will give two examples. For example, the well-known historian, Professor Yu. Afanasyev, did not come through on the level of the district committee. Meetings were held in support of his candidacy, people collected signatures. As is known, Yu. Afansyev was elected delegate at the session of the Moscow Gorkom.

Another example is from Sakhalin. The working people there sharply criticized the first secretary of the district committee, Tretyakov. A Soviet television reporter prepared a corresponding report with them. His direct superiors in the State Committee for Radio and Television decided that that journalist should lose his job.

A session of the CPSU oblispolkom was held immediately afterward, which said the working people were absolutely right. Tretyakov relinquished his delegate's mandate voluntarily. The journalist returned to his job and became a honorary citizen there.

Ergo: The old clashed with the new in the elections, there were successes as well as failures. The composition of the delegates to the conference reflects the dynamic development of Soviet society in the past 3 years.

[MLADA FRONTA] **We also would like to know whether the party conference will be able to provide an answer to the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast, in which the citizens demand that it be detached from the Azerbaijan SSR and annexed to Armenia.**

G. Gerasimov: The events in Nagorno-Karabakh are the result of many years of neglect of the nationalities' relations. There are 49 nationalities living in that oblast. The majority of them, of course, are Armenians, who demand annexation to the Armenian SSR. The Supreme Soviet of Armenia is in session literally today, and it is discussing this demand. Not so long ago there were demonstrations in Yerevan; and there also were demonstrations in Baku, in which militia Sergeant Ismaylov, Azerbaijani by origin, was accidentaly shot to death.

It is a very complex issue. Article 78 of the Soviet Constitution provides for the possibility of changing borders between the republics with the assent of those whom it concerns, and with the approval of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

N. Shishlin and G. Gerasimov also paid considerable attention to international political issues. Questions mainly concerned the recent Moscow meeting between M. Gorbachev and R. Reagan and the planned agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

N. Shishlin: Not so long ago I said that the main sensation of the Moscow summit was that there was no sensation. Even before the Moscow meeting it was obvious that the agreement on the 50-percent reduction of strategic weapons would not be ready, but it was necessary to strengthen and stabilize the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and formulate tasks for tomorrow. The meeting was exceptionally fruitful; it, namely, laid foundations for a regular Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

G. Gerasimov: We agreed in Washington that we would try to have the draft of the agreement on the 50-percent reduction ready in time for the Moscow meeting. This did not happen. Why? I do not think it would be right to blame the American side alone. Although the Americans do not want to change their stance on the sea-deployed missiles, other political and technical difficulties also cropped up. Although we have experience with the preparation of the agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons, the planned agreement concerns the delicate issue of national security. Therefore verification, too, is a complicated matter. To put it concisely: The USSR as well as the United States want to conclude the agreement; R. Reagan would like to conclude it while still in office, and should it not be possible, he will recommend to his successor to strive for concluding the agreement. The important thing is that neither the Democratic nor the Republican candidate for the office of U.S. President is at loggerheads in the question of how to proceed in the USSR issue in the future. This provides certain hope for a shift forward in Soviet-U.S. relations. We can continue competing, but we also have common interests—above all, not permitting nuclear war.

N. Shishlin: It seems that the second half of 1988 could be called Europe's. The Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee will meet to formulate fundamental new ideas for the improvement of the world as well as European situation. The FRG Chancellor is due in Moscow, our dialogue with France taking on second wind, and there are certain signs of an expansion of relations with Britain. We have contacts with Italy, Greece, and northern Europe. Not all issues can be solved within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue; other countries, too, must contribute to detente. It could be that 1988 will be called the Year of Europe.

Toronto Economic Summit Documents Reviewed

PM2306120388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1,5

[Own correspondent V. Shelkov report: "The Toronto Conference"]

[Text] Toronto, 21 Jun—The meeting of leaders of the seven leading capitalist countries and representatives of the West European Common Market has ended in Toronto. There were separate talks involving heads of state and government, foreign ministers, and finance ministers as well plenary sessions involving all delegation members.

The main event of the second day of the conference was the proclamation by Canadian Foreign Secretary J. Clark of the political declaration of the participants in the meeting. The document consists of three parts: "East-West Relations," "Terrorism," and "Narcotics."

The participants in the Toronto meeting, the first section of the declaration notes, confirm their faith in constructive and realistic dialogue and in the possibility of East-West cooperation in such spheres as arms control, human rights, regional problems, and so on. On this basis, the document says, it is possible to achieve stability in our mutual relations and to ensure security with lower levels of armaments. However, this sober assessment was immediately followed by a tirade which caused people to doubt the good intentions of the group of seven's members. "We also confirm," the declaration notes, "that in the foreseeable future nuclear deterrence and the equivalent power of conventional armaments will remain the guarantees of peace and freedom."

The political declaration welcomes the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and points out that this document is an exceptionally important precedent for further agreemnts in the arms control sphere. The leaders of the group of seven congratulated M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan on the progress already achieved at the talks on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms and stated their desire to see that process reach its conclusion. However, one cannot agree with the conclusion of the Toronto meeting's participants that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was the direct result of the West's firmness. At the same time it is regrettable that some passages in the political declaration are reminiscent of an old-fashioned refrain. For example, it speaks again of the "Warsaw Pact countries' undoubted superiority in conventional armaments," the socialist countries' potential for delivering a "surprise aggressive strike" against the West, and the "Soviet military threat" in the Far East. Once again they tried to accuse the Soviet Union of "human rights violations."

The leaders of the most developed capitalist countries recognized that changes have occurred in East-West relations in a number of spheres since their previous meeting in Venice. In the Seven's view, the policy of glasnost and democratization in the Soviet Union offers prospects for the strengthening of trust among the peoples. We welcome the beginning of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, the document says. We each confirm our desire to do everything to promote the international community's efforts to facilitate the refugees' return home and their readjustment in Afghanistan. The only comment to add to that would be that the international community is actually waiting for the West's good intentions to be turned into real deeds.

In the section on "Terrorism" the participants in the meeting condemned all acts of terrorism, including hostage-taking. Previous statements that terrorists must be punished were reaffirmed and support was expressed for efforts within the International Civil Aviation Organization's framework on the taking of a number of additional measures to prevent the hijacking of aircraft.

The concluding part of the political declaration is devoted to the drug problem. The illegal use of drugs and drug trafficking, it says, are a threat not only to the peoples of the Seven, but also of those states where narcotics are produced and through whose territory they are shipped.

The conference also discussed a number of regional problems. As the comments by Canadian Prime Minister B. Mulroney show, his colleagues considered the Near East and South Africa during the first 2 days. The situation around Kampuchea was also examined.

The sudden eruption of violence in the Near East, the conference noted, is clear evidence that the status quo in the region is unstable. The Arab-Israeli conflict must be settled by means of talks as quickly as possible. The participants in the meeting of the Seven supported the idea of an international conference aimed at achieving such a settlement. They approved the well-known "Shultz plan."

During the discussion of the Iran-Iraq conflict, the participants in the Toronto conference restated their support for UN Resolution 598, which was unanimously adopted by the Security Council. The use of chemical weapons during combat actions was condemned.

Many of the journalists accredited at the meeting drew attention to the fact that the common opinion published by the Seven on southern Africa does not contain the contradictions which, until quite recently, were characteristic of the positions of Ottawa and London, for example.

The participants in the meeting were acquainted with the report prepared by the Seven's finance ministers on the state of their economy. Canadian Finance Minister M. Wilson, who presented the report, noted in particular that the urgent joint actions taken by the main Western capitals helped to mitigate the after-effects of the potentially catastrophic stock market crash on 19 October last year. A certain reduction in inflation was presented as an important success. However, the report warns of possible unpredictable recurrences of that chronic capitalist ailment.

During the discussion of the debt problem there was much talk about the West's concern over the colossal debt burden borne by the world's poorest countries. B. Mulroney noted that after last year's meeting of the Seven in Venice, much has been done at bilateral and multilateral levels to reduce the Third World's debt enslavement. Canada, for example, has remitted around $700 million in debt to a group of developing countries.

However, not all the members of the "Club of Seven" are ready, it emerges, to follow the lead of some of their partners. For example, as White House spokesman M. Fitzwater stated at a briefing, the principled position of the United States on this score is that it is not writing the debts off. Nevertheless, on the debt issue a formula was adopted in Toronto on the need to seek ways to ease the debt burden and some measures have been planned.

Proceedings of Berlin Nuclear-Free-Zones Meeting

21 Jun Session

LD2106201988 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin June 21 TASS—The international forum for nuclear-free zones, involving more than a thousand representatives from 113 countries of all continents, went into the second day of its work in nine commissions today. It discussed such relevant topics as "Nuclear-Free Zones—Possible Steps Towards a Nuclear-Free World", "Nuclear-Free Zones—Zones of Trust and Cooperation". Also under consideration was relationship between nuclear-free zones and European security, regional conflicts, settlement of crises, and conventional disarmament. The commissions also focussed on guarantees, monitoring and verifying nuclear-free zones, non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Speakers in commissions stressed that the initiatives for setting up nuclear-free zones, once realized, would consolidate world peace and contribute towards ridding the world completely of nuclear weapons. Georgiy Arbatov, director of the U.S. and Canada Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said that demilitarization of society was high on the agenda of world politics today. Nuclear-free zones, once they are created, are a serious blow to the thinking in terms of nuclear weapons.

The proposals for setting up nuclear-free zones run up against strong resistance in the United States, said S. Gottlieb, a representative of the U.S. center for defense information. In creating such zones, he suggested starting with measures to build up confidence and reduce conventional and chemical armaments.

Mozambican Prime Minister Mario da Graca Machungo noted that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) member countries recognized as necessary to ban the production and deployment of nuclear weapons on the African continent. This is why they launched the proposal for proclaiming Africa a nuclear-free zone.

Francisco da Costa Gomes, former president of Portugal, noted that at issue in Europe was the creation of four nuclear-free zones—in central Europe, in the north of the continent, in the Balkans and in the Iberian Peninsula. He regards the formation of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe where especially large weapons arsenals are concentrated as the all-important project. Frank Allaun, president of the public organisation, Labour Action for Peace, also voiced for nuclear-free zones in Europe.

Mieczyslaw Dachowski, first deputy chief of the general staff of the Polish Army, division general, said that the idea of creating nuclear-free zones was a contribution to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, scaling down the arms race and building up confidence.

In the opinion of Matyas Szuros, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, political measures to build up confidence were assuming an increasingly greater importance as compared to military measures. The joint initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the communist party of Czechoslovakia for forming a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe is, therefore, highly important from this standpoint.

Speakers also emphasized that involved economic problems of developing countries could not be tackled without a reduction in armaments and establishment of the climate of detente and cooperation.

The Berlin forum continues its work.

'Initiatives' Debated

LD2206171988 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin June 22 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Borisov:

A lively debate has been held at the current international meeting for nuclear-free zones in Berlin on the question of the joint initiatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on establishing in central Europe a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free from chemical weapons.

After the ratification of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, the initiative to set up a corridor has assumed even greater significance for the disarmament process in Europe, said Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. If a nuclear-free corridor were established, almost all the tactical nuclear weapons, battlefield nuclear weapons and chemical weapons would be withdrawn for a distance of 150 kilometres on each side from the boundary between the two military-political alliances. Thus the reduction would also concern the potentials of conventional weapons.

Josef Kempny, member of the presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, noted that in the era when nuclear weapons threaten humanity's existence, it is necessary, despite all the ideological divisions, to pool efforts for the resolution of the existing problems. He expressed regret that the FRG Government to which the joint proposal of Czechoslovakia and the GDR on the setting up of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe was addressed, has not drawn a positive response so far.

As Egon Bahr, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, noted in his speech, he is confident that if a nuclear-free corridor is created, many individuals and nations will wish to continue advancing on the path of disarmament. Herein lies the cause of the negative attitude to that idea of those who fear it.

In the course of the debate the question was asked about the obstacles on the way towards a ban on the chemical weapons. GDR representative professor Karl-Heinz Lohs noted that the international ban on the chemical weapons is blocked above all by the destructive stand of the United States. This stand finds its expression in the manufacture of binary chemical weapons and is proof of the lack of political will on the part of the United States to ensure a ban on that type of mass destruction weapons.

Conference Concludes

LD2306123088 Moscow TASS in English 1052 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Berlin June 22 TASS—The idea of creating nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world is becoming an important element of disarmament and detente, a logical development of a process started by the Soviet-American INF Treaty. This was convincingly demonstrated by an international conference for the creation of nuclear-free zones that came to a close here today. It was attended by some 1,000 prominent statesmen, public figures, representatives of political parties and international organizations, scientists, cultural personalities and clergymen from about 100 countries.

In the course of the discussion at commissions various aspects of the creation of nuclear-free zones proposals of participants in the conference were summed up. They dealt with the working out of further steps on the way to the creation of a nuclear-free world and the consolidation of trust and cooperation, the settlement of regional conflicts, the ensurance of guarantees, control and verification in nuclear-free zones.

Participants in the conference discussed problems connected with European security, the consolidation of the nuclear weapons non-proliferation regime, the overcoming of backwardness, practical experience and international significance of nuclear-free zones in Latin America and the southern part of the Pacific, as well as initiatives on the creation of such zones in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Speakers at the conference expressed high appreciation of the support by the Soviet Union for the idea of creating nuclear-free zones reiterated in Mikhail Gorbachev's message of greeting, as well as of the readiness expressed by the USSR to provide appropriate guarantees to their member countries. A new Soviet proposal put forward at the conference to eliminate foreign military presence and dismantle military bases at other countries' territories by 2000 was also positively assessed by the participants in the conference.

Addressing the closing session, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the GDR State Council, described the conference as rather timely. He said that immediately after the fourth Soviet-American summit in Moscow and the coming into force of the INF Treaty representatives of the world public had reaffirmed the resolve of the nations to make their active contribution to the ensurance of peace and international security. The Berlin forum showed that a new and important factor had emerged in world politics, specifically, the conscience of nations, their active aspirations and their cooperation that determine the course of history in ever greater degree. At present it is not a small number of countries that decide the destinies of the world. All the nations, big and small, want to uphold themselves the most important right of man—the right to life.

Erich Honecker assured participants in the conference that the GDR situated in the centre of Europe, on the land where two world wars were started, along a sensitive dividing line between two most powerful military groups had become a reliable stronghold of peace. He said that one could easily understand his feeling when he was saying it today, 47 years after the Hitler regime had treacherously attacked the Soviet Union, the country that had made a decisive contribution to the liberation of nations from the Nazi barbarity within the framework of the anti-Hitler coalition. Honecker pointed out that the GDR would continue to promote actively and consistently the consolidation of peace.

Demichev Returns to Moscow

LD2306204788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A Soviet delegation, led by Comrade Demichev, which had been taking part in the international meeting for nuclear-free zones, returned from Berlin to Moscow today. The delegation was met at the airport by Comrade Talyzin; Comrade Mokanu, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and other officials.

Koenig, GDR ambassador to the Soviet Union, was among the welcoming party.

Prosecutor Sukharev, Lawyers Group Chief Meet

PM2306115988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jun 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric: "Yesterday: Events and Facts": "Lawyers' Meeting"]

[Text] A meeting has been held at the USSR Prosecutor's Office between A. Sukharev, president of the Association of Soviet Lawyers and USSR prosecutor general, and G. Norman, president of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

They discussed a number of questions regarding cooperation between the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Association of Soviet Lawyers. An exchange of opinions also took place on participation in the preparations for an international conference devoted to the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen and also the convening at the end of this year of an international conference devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

United States & Canada

Pogodin Views Canadian Expulsion Decision

LD2306124388 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Next, Radio Moscow observer Aleksandr Pogodin comments on the decision of the Canadian authorities to send out of the country a group of Soviet citizens working at Soviet offices and agencies in Canada. This is what he writes:

The Soviet Foreign Ministry has already given an official assessment of the action. Among other things, it's pointed out that the charge of the Canadian side that Soviet representatives engaged in activities incompatible with their status was absolutely groundless. It is also stressed that this big provocation is clearly meant to poison the atmosphere of Soviet-Canadian relations.

Unfortunately, such actions are practiced quite often by the governments of certain Western countries. The Canadians, for instance, staged a similar provocation in 1984. But it seems to me, Aleksandr Pogodin says, that what they've done now is something different. In the past such provocations took place, as a rule, at a time when East-West relations were aggravated and when anti-Sovietism was almost made government policy. The situation now is quite different. There is progress in Soviet-American relations resulting from the summit meetings. There is the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles which has come into force, and there are agreements on a settlement around Afghanistan. All those are important realities of today when changes for the better are taking place in international relations.

Incidentally, such an opinion was also expressed by the leaders of the seven major capitalist countries when they recently met in Toronto. And there seems to be something paradoxical in the fact that the host of the meeting in Toronto, Canada's Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, announced the decision to send a group of Soviet citizens out of the country at a news conference which was devoted to the completion of that meeting. At the same time he called for vigilance as regards the Soviet Union. I believe that vigilance is really needed primarily as regards those elements which are trying to undermine the process of improving international relations.

U.S. Businessman Proposes Industrial Cooperation

LD2206102188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] An unprecedented event has taken place at an international seminar in Moscow in which Soviet and U.S. specialists took part. The U.S. side proposed that efforts be combined for the integration of the latest technology, designed only a few months ago, in industry. World machine-building practice has never seen anything like this before. Basically, it concerns factories of the third millennium. (Daniel Herring), a leading specialist of the (C.I. Heyers) Corporation, stressed that in his meetings with Soviet colleagues, he became convinced that they have a very high standard of professional training and are familiar with the nuances of the most modern technologies. Despite language differences, the conversation was held in the common language of mutual understanding.

Today, one can see a tendency in the world away from national economies to a world economy. I think, (Daniel Herring) said, that the first step could be the installation of our systems in Soviet enterprises, and then joint scientific and technological research, joint work in third countries, and finally, joint enterprises. The uniting of economic, scientific, and technological potential of the USSR and the United States would enable the entire world to stride more quickly into the future.

Soviet Peace Fund Group Ends Visit to U.S.

LD2106135188 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 21 Jun 88

[Text] Washington June 21 TASS—A delegation of the Soviet Peace Fund which took part in the third special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament has ended its visit to the United States.

The delegation comprised prominent Soviet scientists, artists and agricultural officials.

During the stay in the United States, the delegation met representatives of American public, scientists, creative intelligentsia and businessmen. At the invitation of the local branch of the United Nations Association, the Soviet guests paid a visit to Kentucky where they were elected honorary citizens of one of the state's districts.

"We have an impression that practically all people whom we met had a genuine desire to safeguard peace and life on earth and their attitude to this problem was not at all indifferent. They were absolutely sincere saying that our peoples should not only live in peace and friendship, but also develop all-round contacts," the delegation's head V. Aksyonov, two times hero of the USSR and space pilot of the Soviet Union, told TASS.

Northeast Asia

Working-Level Talks With Japan Open in Moscow

OW2306135488 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] According to correspondent Yamaguchi in Moscow, Japanese-Soviet working-level talks to discuss the visit to Japan of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and other matters began in Moscow this afternoon Japan time. The meeting is attended by Deputy Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Kuriyma from the Japanese side and Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev from the Soviet side.

They are set to discuss, in a comprehensive manner, the international situation at the first-day meeting today, and matters and various questions relating to bilateral relations tomorrow. The focus of the discussion will be Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan, which has been put off due to such reasons as the U.S.-USSR summit.

General Secretary Gorbachev revealed his intention to send Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to Japan this coming fall at a meeting with JSP [Japanese Socialist Party] Chairperson Doi last month when the latter visited Moscow. This time, the detailed itinerary for the visit is expected to be agreed upon.

Japanese-Soviet relations are now at their worst since the end of World War II as a result of the controversies over the Toshiba Machine violation of Cocom rules and the expulsion of Japanese Embassy officials in Moscow. The Takeshita government, launched last November, has set out to pursue a policy of expanding political dialogue with the Soviet Union. But the Soviet side is taking a critical stand, saying that no change can be noted in Japan's policy toward the Soviet Union and that only Japan is left out from the overall improvement in East-West relations.

Takeshita's Remarks on Kurile Islands Scored

PM2406110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 88 Second Edition p 7

[Unattributed report: "Japanese Discordant Note"]

[Text] In connection with a request from a PRAVDA correspondent for comments on Japanese Prime Minister N. Takeshita's speech at the meeting of the "Big Seven" leaders in Toronto, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration said the following: Against the background of the generally positive assessments of the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy expressed by the leaders of other countries, the Japanese leader claimed that "in Asia the influence of restructuring has not been noticeable." He also noted the existence between Japan and the USSR of a "territorial issue," referring to Japan's claim to part of the Kurile Islands which belong to the USSR.

N. Takeshita's statements about restructuring merely attest to the Japanese leadership's inability or reluctance to see the positive changes which have been and are taking place in the USSR's relations with most of the countries of the Asia-Pacific region under the favorable influence of the new political thinking in Soviet foreign policy; it also attests to an aspiration to use fabricated pretexts to avoid examining the well-known Soviet initiatives aimed at strengthening peace and security in this important region. One gets the impression that the Japanese Government is not only avoiding looking for ways of constructively collaborating with the Soviet Union on these most important problems, but, moreover, would even like to block the resolution of these problems for the sake of its own egoistic interests.

As for Takeshita's statement about the "territorial issue," Japan's claims to part of Soviet territory—as we have repeatedly stressed—are illegal and unfounded. This question has been resolved on the corresponding historical and international law basis.

The territorial claims against the USSR, and even more the attempts to bring them into the international arena, are linked with the desire of certain Japanese circles to revise history and to make out that militarist Japan was not an aggressor or one of the instigators of World War II.

There is no need to prove that the attempts to revise the results of the last war, any manifestations of revanchism, and the indulging of these manifestations are only liable to introduce a destabilizing element into the current international situation. The lessons of the last war, the interests of peace and stability, and, finally, pure common sense suggest that through joint efforts a reliable barrier should be put in the way of such inclinations.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV Ready To Attend Jakarta Meeting

OW2206153588 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Vietnam has indicated that when the representatives of the PRK and the Cambodian reactionary clique hold their second phase of informal talks, it is willing to participate in the meeting with the other parties concerned. This was announced by a spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry at a Hanoi news briefing for foreign correspondents. According to an agreement reached between Vietnam and Indonesia, the meeting may be held in July in Jakarta. The spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry expressed support for the PRK's decision to agree to Sihanouk's proposal that a meeting of the four Cambodian sides be held with the support of the Nonaligned Movement.

Our observer Alekseyev writes the following in this regard:

The proposal made by Vietnam and Indonesia last summer will soon become a reality. It should be noted here that the proposal for the informal meeting was first made by the Vietnamese and Indonesian foreign ministers on 29 July 1987 during their talks in Ho Chi Minh City. This constructive proposal did not win any vigorous support then from the Cambodian reactionary clique and its foreign protectors. Nevertheless, it still had some positive effects. The JAKARTA TIMES held that it is precisely this proposal made by Vietnam and Indonesia that laid the foundation for the ensuing dialogue between Sihanouk and Hun Sen, Cambodian chairman of the

Council of Ministers. The dialogue which began last December became a major form of direct contact between the PRK Government and the opposition. In their meetings, Hun Sen and Sihanouk had detailed discussions about the various elements of the Cambodian situation and reached some common views regarding mediation of the situation. New developments brought many different parties into the national dialogue. The participation by Vietnam and other concerned countries in the informal meeting of the four Cambodian sides doubtless will add even more weight to the meeting and create even greater hope for the success of the mediation effort. The Cambodian conflict has an international element, and it is therefore impossible to settle without the participation of other countries.

Now a particularly favorable situation has presented itself. In a recent statement, Cambodia and Vietnam announced that 40,000 troops from the Vietnamese volunteer forces will be withdrawn from Cambodia by the end of June and another 10,000 will be withdrawn in the ensuing 6 months. This means that by the end of 1988, the limited number of troops of the Vietnamese volunteers forces stationed in Cambodia will have been cut by half. What we should remind our listeners is that the Governments of Vietnam and Cambodia have announced on many other occasions that they plan to withdraw all Vietnamese volunteer forces by early 1990. If a mediation agreement can be reached, the withdrawal time can be advanced further.

We hope the informal meeting to be held in Jakarta will represent a major step in the mediation. The fact that Vietnam indicated it is willing to take part in the meeting has eloquently proved again that it is sincere.

Jakarta Talks on Cambodia Welcomed

PM2306110988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 88 First Edition p 5

[Boris Barakhta "Viewpoint": "Sign of the Times"]

[Text] Evidently, future historians will not be offending the truth if they describe the new thinking which is asserting itself increasingly firmly in the world and the new realistic approach to international relations as one of the main signs of our times. For now it is a question of mankind's existence: Given the vast stocks of mass destruction weapons, the lingering hostility and suspiciousness from cold war times, and the smoldering seats of regional conflicts, it would only take a spark to ignite a world conflagration.

Now as never before the linkage and interdependence of our world, a world brimming over with weapons, are becoming evident. The topical problem of settling regional conflicts along with the resolution of global problems is arising in all its magnitude. But the following question arises: Should it be only the great powers that constantly take on the role of "firefighters" extinguishing the flames in the planet's "hotspots"? Is it not time for the countries directly involved in such armed clashes also to make constructive efforts to resolve them politically?

Our time—a time of radical restructuring of international relations—convincingly illustrates that, with goodwill from all interested parties, problems which previously seemed insoluble can and should be resolved at the negotiating table. The achievement of the agreements on Afghanistan and the policy of national reconciliation implemented by Kabul constitute a good example of this.

Which "hotspot" will be the next to be damped down? Cambodia, perhaps? Quite possibly.

Following a proposal from the Indonesian Government, an accord has been secured on holding an unofficial meeting in Jakarta in the immediate future to settle the so-called Cambodian problem. In the course of the "cocktail party" (this is what journalists christened the upcoming talks in the Indonesian capital) representatives of the PRK, Prince Sihanouk, Sonn San, and the "Khmer Rouge" are to frankly exchange opinions. They will try to dampen the smoldering seat of conflict in Southeast Asia by peaceful means. Then Vietnam and other interested states—primarily, obviously, the ASEAN countries—will be included in discussion of the problem.

Along with the decision to withdraw 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers and their command from Cambodia this year, Hanoi and Phnom Penh's readiness to take part in this unofficial meeting of the three Cambodian groupings is by no means a sign of "weakness" or of the "defeat" of the PRK's national reconciliation policy. On the contrary, it is a manifestation of the new thinking and the sincere desire to galvanize the process of settling the Cambodian problem through talks. The fact that this question was recently discussed at talks between the SRV foreign minister and his Thai counterpart indicates the gravity of the approach. The official announcement pointed out that the sides have noted a gradual lessening in the differences of opinion on the Cambodian problem. The Malaysian prime minister has expressed support for the upcoming Jakarta "cocktail party."

In short, a good start has been made. Soviet people were delighted to hear the news of the upcoming unofficial talks with Cambodian groupings in Indonesia. You will agree that the world can only benefit if one of the world's "hotspots"—of which there are still, unfortunately, a large number—is eliminated by diplomats' efforts rather than by the blood of soldiers and innocent citizens.

PRK's Hun Sen Cited on Vietnamese Withdrawal

PM2306131988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Situation in Cambodia"]

[Text] The seventh and largest withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia, which is being carried out this year, is clear evidence of the increased might of the PRK's Armed Forces and the stabilization of the situation in the Republic. At the same time this move confirms the real desire to implement the accord on the completion of the Vietnamese volunteers' withdrawal in 1990 and their readiness to settle the existing problems by political means. This was stated by Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, in an interview with the Vietnamese journal QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN [TOAN element in title as published] (PEOPLE'S NATIONAL DEFENSE).

The return home of 50,000 Vietnamese servicemen, who have given Cambodia tremendous international assistance, is a serious test for the PRK's Armed Forces and for all our people, the Cambodian leader noted. However, having analyzed thoroughly the present-day situation, we believe that we can cope by ourselves with the revolutionary tasks facing us.

The Cambodian revolution's enemies, Hun San said, are now talking a great deal about the "convenient opportunity" which will be presented to them in 1990 after the Vietnamese volunteers' final withdrawal. However, they will not be able to resolve the problem by means of military force.

There are two possible options for resolving the "Cambodian problem": Either it will be settled by political means, by means of talks, or it will disappear by itself when the Vietnamese volunteer troops' withdrawal from the PRK is complete. Much here will depend on China, the United States, and Thailand. Will they continue to support the Pol Potites and other Khmer reactionaries as at present or not?

In any event, Hun San stressed, our main task is to steadily increase and consolidate the forces of the Cambodian revolution, to reinforce its irreversible nature, and to reliably defend the revolutionary gains.

Modern Role of Cambodian Armed Forces Described

PM2306143988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov article under the rubric "19 June Is the 37th Anniversary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Army": "Fighters' Formation Strengthening"]

[Excerpt] Phnom Penh-Moscow—[Passage omitted] The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Army [KPRA] has been transformed into a regular army over the years of people's power, my Cambodian colleagues pointed out in conversation. Units of air and naval forces have appeared within it in addition to ground forces. Cambodian servicemen possess modern weapons and combat hardware. The chief task now is to further strengthen the Army's ranks and enhance the combat readiness of units and subunits.

This problem is truly of concern to the Republic's whole people. The cause of defending the revolution now and in the future, the newspaper PRACHEACHON, official organ of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, emphasizes, demands increasingly persistent work to strengthen the combat spirit of the fighters of Cambodia's Armed Forces. The KPRA must carry out its duty of defending the country after the Vietnamese volunteers return to their motherland. This is the paramount, long-term task of the party and of the people's Armed Forces.

Thanks to assistance from the fraternal socialist countries—Vietnam above all—many KPRA subunits have strengthened their combat ability, as confirmed by successful combat operations. It is the Army's task both in border regions and inside the country to ensure more efficient control over the situation in rural locities, to "break up" enemy subunits into small groups, and to hamper supplies to these groups both inside the country and from abroad. KPRA units are coping successfully with this task in the Kandal, Kampong Spoe, Rotanokiri, and other provinces. This also applies to subunits of local troops.

As is known, the PRK and SRV Governments have adopted a decision to return home this year 50,000 servicemen from among the Vietnamese volunteers. The troops will be withdrawn during June through December this year by land and sea. Both governments reached an accord last month that the Vietnamese volunteers' command, as well as the subunits ensuring the command's activity and rear and technical services, will be withdrawn from Cambodia in June this year. The Vietnamese volunteers remaining in the PRK for the time being will pass to the control of the Cambodian military command and will finally be withdrawn in 1990.

The upcoming withdrawal of such a large contingent of Vietnamese volunteers provides graphic new evidence of the steady stabilization of the situation in Cambodia and the strengthening of the Republic's Armed Forces. The Soviet Union fully supports the new constructive initiatives of the PRK and the SRV, which open up a direct path to a speedy settlement of the situation around Cambodia and the creation of conditions for realizing the idea of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace.

Just over 6 months ago I visited Cambodia and saw for myself one of the stages in the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from that country. I still remember my impressions of a thousands-strong rally in Batdambang Province devoted to that event. Subunits of Vietnamese volunteers and Cambodian servicemen stood shoulder to shoulder in the city square. I looked at the faces of Cambodian soldiers and officers, and a little later I chatted with many of them. As though summing up those conversations, Tkhay Vanna [name as published], a PRK Foreign Ministry employee who accompanied me and acted as a translator, said: "The formation of our Army's fighters is strengthening. They have learned a great deal from the Vietnamese comrades in arms and acquired valuable combat experience. KPRA servicemen are vigilantly standing guard over the people's revolutionary gains."

Election of Do Muoi as SRV Premier Reported

LD2206151688 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] Hanoi June 22 TASS—Do Muoi, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, was elected new chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic at the evening sitting of the session of the National Assembly of Vietnam, which opened here today.

Greeted by Council

LD2306141888 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—The USSR Council of Ministers has congratulated Do Muoi on his election to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of Vietnam.

The congratulatory message wished the Vietnamese leader great successes and fruitful work.

The Soviet Union, it said, firmly supported the efforts by the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese Government and the Vietnamese working people to implementing the course towards renewal in various spheres of the life of society, outlined by the 6th party congress.

"The implementation of that course will undoubtedly facilitate the successful solution of the tasks of Vietnam's social and economic development and the country's accelerated advancement along the path of building socialism."

Katushev Confers With Indonesian Trade Minister

PM2306115788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 88 Morning Edition p5

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A conversation took place on 20 June between K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and Arifin Siregar, Indonesian trade minister. They discussed the state of trade and economic ties between the two countries and the prospects for their development.

Deputy Premier Tolstykh Receives Lao Official

PM2306104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Questions of Cooperation Discussed"]

[Text] B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee on Science and Technology, on 20 June received S. Nanthavong, chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers Council on Science and Technology. Questions of the further broadening and deepening of USSR-Lao scientific and technical cooperation were discussed.

Thai-U.S. F-16 Jet Deal Criticized

BK2206123388 Moscow in Thai to Thailand 1100 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Aleksandr Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] According to a report from Bangkok, the first batch of three F-16 jet fighters, which the U.S. Government sold to Thailand recently, flew into a military airbase in Nakhon Ratchasima Province. Thailand will receive 12 such fighters. REUTER has noted that Thailand is the first country in Southeast Asia to have these aircraft, which can carry nuclear weapons. Those interested in developments in Southeast Asia will certainly have questions about this issue. The first is whether the development of a country's military might matches the development of its security at the national and international levels. Did Thailand's military strength help it to deal with the border conflict with Laos? The fighting there resulted in casualties and several planes were shot down. The dispute, although still not fully resolved at present, was not settled on the battlefield but will be dealt with at the negotiation table. Were powerful modern weapons able to solve the Cambodian problem? No. Only moves toward national reconciliation have been able to create real opportunities for solving the hottest regional conflicts in the Southeast Asia region.

Some people may feel that Thailand needs modern weapons to deter threats. However, the source of threat in the Southeast Asia region is caused by shortsighted action. Western observers even recognize that as tens of thousands of Vietnamese volunteer troops are being withdrawn from Cambodia, possibly all of them, it is increasingly difficult to paint a picture of Vietnam as the evil force in the region. The willingness of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos to develop political negotiations with the representatives of ASEAN is proof of the fact that the countries in the Indochina Peninsula are opposing military conflicts. The three Indochinese countries support the idea of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, good-neighborliness, and cooperation. This is in line with the principle of the zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality for Southeast Asia proposed by ASEAN. On the basis [words indistinct] of the development of the political situation in Southeast Asia, the purchase of modern jet fighters by Thailand is not a positive sign. Several observers in the region hold that the new purchase by the Thai Air Force was in line with the Pentagon's views on the security problems in Southeast Asia. The siting of U.S. weapons in this ASEAN nation was seen as a way of increasing the U.S. military and strategic presence in Southeast Asia. Although the fighters are under the command of Thailand, it does not change the picture at all. It is generally known that the mechanism linking Thai combat forces with the U.S. Armed Forces's objectives are organized every year through military exercises and military training. Considering these facts, some Pentagon officials would not mind seeing the Thai Armed Forces as a reserve force to be used to serve U.S. interests under certain specific conditions. As a result, these reserve forces should be improved in accordance with the accepted principle—such as the nuclear arsenal which the U.S. officials have regularly clamored for in ASEAN.

Southeast Asia will probably take note of the negative aspects of the presence of the Thai Air Force's most sophisticated jet fighters. Considering their capability, the F-16 jet fighters pose a risk to Thailand's neighbors. It is generally known that the greater the number of weapons the greater the risk—the risk of using those weapons and the risk of threatening to use them. At present, such a trend is not conducive to the improvement of the international atmosphere.

We believe that the political views of the leaders in Southeast Asia will be influenced by some factors. More and more people in the region believe that common sense, not displays of force and power, is the only accepted way of carrying out international activities. The Indonesian paper MERDEKA pointed out that peace cannot be created on the basis of fear, mutual suspicion, and military buildup. On the contrary, peace can be created only when all parties trust each other and oppose the use of violence.

Supreme Soviet's Voss Receives Australian Group

LD2306130388 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Today Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met a delegation of the leading functionaries of the Australian Democratic Party, deputies of the federal Parliament of Australia. During a friendly talk the guests were explained the essence of perestroyka, now under way in the USSR, and the progress of social and economic changes under the situation of glasnost (openness) and democratization of all spheres of life of Soviet society and were told about the preparation for the 19th all-union party conference, as well as about improvement in the activities of soviets at a new stage of our state's development.

Delegation members noted that changes taking place in domestic life of the Soviet land have a broad positive impact on international affairs. They pointed out that the coming all-union CPSU conference would help Australian Democratic Party and the Australian public to understand better the essence of political and economic changes in the USSR.

Near East & South Asia

Ministry Officials Assess Afghan Withdrawal

LD2306142788 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—Soviet troops are being withdrawn from Afghanistan in accordance with schedule and without delays. The Afghan armed opposition does not conduct any combat operations against the troops being withdrawn. This was said here today by spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Defence Colonel Vasiliy Grishayev. Addressing a press conference devoted to the problems of the settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan, he noted that about a quarter of the contingent of Soviet troops has been withdrawn from Afghanistan by now, and that half of the Soviet troops will be returned home within the first three months, by August 15. No changes of the schedule of the withdrawal are envisaged, the USSR Defence Ministry spokesman said.

There are signs that under the effect of diplomatic steps of the Afghan Government and statements of the Soviet side, Pakistan takes measures to ensure the functioning of the United Nations control mechanism on the Pakistani territory, said deputy head of the Near and Middle East Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, Nikolay Kinayev. At the same time he noted that if Pakistan continues to violate the Geneva accords, the Soviet Union will have to take appropriate measures.

Addressing the press conference, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Dmitriy Venediktov spoke in detail about the efforts of that organisation to free Soviet soldiers who had been taken prisoner by the Afghan armed opposition. He said the complexity of the problem lies in the fact that the prisoners are held by different groups that are warring among themselves. He said that the Afghan opposition had not demanded a ransom for the prisoners. He noted that there were no such cases in over a centenary [as received] of the activity of the International Red Cross.

Rebel 'Government', Pakistani Violations Noted

Rival Groups Examined

PM2306084988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[Veniamin Shurygin "Viewpoint": "Interference Continues"]

[Text] A report has come from the Pakistani city of Peshawar that the Afghan opposition groupings based there have formed a "transitional government" of

Afghanistan. It is headed by Ahmad Shah, who was previously proclaimed president of the country. The cabinet comprised two vice presidents and 12 ministers. Practically all of them represent the parties making up the well-known "Peshawar Seven."

Interested circles in Pakistan and across the ocean have long been obsessed with the idea of the Afghan opposition's creating a so-called "government in exile" in order to bring it to power in Kabul and thus put the policy of a country neighboring on the Soviet Union under their control. However, it was not so easy to put this idea into practice. There is rivalry in the Afghan opposition camp between individual leaders and parties. The contradictions were sharply reinforced with the start of the Soviet troop withdrawal. Each grouping imagines Afghanistan's future in its own particular way.

The most influential extremist wing advocates the creation in Afghanistan of a theocratic, Iranian-type, Muslim state. As for the leaders of the moderate parties—as they are described—they like the previous form of government, where clan leaders played a definite role. They do not preclude a return to the monarchy.

While acting on behalf of all the opposition, the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" clearly overestimate their own importance. The point is that the leaders of many units operating on Afghan territory have their own viewpoint both on questions of the means of restoring peace and also with regard to the country's future development.

In other words, the Afghan opposition's formation of a "transitional government" looks very much like sharing out the skin of a live bear. A recent Afghan Army General Staff announcement said that its Armed Forces can independently defend the country's integrity and sovereignty after the Soviet troops have gone home. The development of the situation in and around Afghanistan clearly illustrates that the resolution of the Afghan question and the restoration of peace in this country are only possible through national reconciliation. It is this idea that is the foundation of the Geneva agreements.

However, all indications are that people in Islamabad and Washington believe that the implementation of the Geneva accords is only a matter of the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

It is already established that Pakistan and the United States are violating the Geneva agreements by continuing arms shipments to the Afghan insurgents. Yet one of the points of the Afghan-Pakistani bilateral agreement compels the sides to "refrain from aiding, encouraging, or supporting directly or indirectly insurgent or separatist activity against another High Contracting Party on whatever pretext and to refrain from any other action aimed at undermining the unity or undermining or subverting the political order of another High Contracting Party." How can the creation on Pakistani territory of an Afghan opposition "transitional government" be squared with Islamabad's promise to fulfill this point of the Geneva agreements? It is also unclear how people in Washington picture the role of the United States as guarantor against interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

U.S. Stance Criticized

LD2306135788 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov:

The Pakistani press gives broad coverage to the establishment of a self-styled transitional government by Afghan armed opposition groups.

The "government in exile" has been set up on Pakistani territory with knowledge of Islamabad and it enjoys its patronage.

This is just one event in a series of other developments, including the continued presence of terrorist-training bases and camps on Pakistani territory, movement of caravans with weapons inside Afghanistan and encouragement for raids against Afghan towns.

All together, this is evidence of the fact that the powers that be in Islamabad, in grossly violating the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, intend to continue their destructive and dangerous course.

As of today, a total of 400 violations of the Geneva package have been recorded.

The stand of certain quarters in the United States gives rise to concern, too. The U.S. President, at the recent meeting with the heads of six other leading capitalist nations in Toronto, Canada, affixed his signature to a political declaration saying that the Afghan people should have an opportunity to freely choose their government.

That sounds nice and correct. But what about realities?

The flow of American weapons to opposition groups is continuing, and so is the propaganda clamour aimed to misrepresent the situation in Afghanistan and incite the "irreconcilables" to fresh hostilities.

Calls are being heard in Washington to send to Pakistan a special emissary in the rank of ambassador-at-large to "monitor resistance operations."

Such "ideas" can hardly be described as anything but an attempt to hinder the free expression of will of the Afghan people and add more fuel to the Afghan fire.

One can see that the dangerous hegemonistic concepts of "neo-globalism", shaped in Washington some time ago, have not been discarded.

But the situation when one side abides by the Geneva commitments, while the other grossly violates them is unlikely to remain.

The Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan at the latest plenary meeting in Kabul stated that if the persistent search for compromise in the name of peace failed to materialise, Afghanistan would be prepared for the armed defence of the peace process.

Neither the leaders of Pakistan, nor those who back them should forget that.

Rebels Target UN Mission

LD2306151388 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 23 TASS—The more extremist elements from the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven", who reject the Geneva accords, do not disdain any means to thwart them.

According to a BAKHTAR News Agency report, they have chosen staff members of the United Nations Mission of Good Offices in Afghanistan and Pakistan as the target of their terrorist attacks.

Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of Hezb-e Eslami Afghanistan, is reported to have formed a special group of terrorists for the purpose.

Its task will be to penetrate into Kabul with the assistance of Hikmatyar's armed groups operating in Kabul Province, and work out plans for killing U.N. Mission members monitoring the observance of the Geneva accords.

In this way, the terrorists seek to discredit the Afghan Government as unable to ensure the safety of U.N. officials and thwart an important part of the Geneva package of agreements by torpedoing the U.N. role in the Afghan settlement and making impossible the normal functioning of the Good Offices Mission.

BAKHTAR described the statement of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" on setting up a transitional government in Pakistani territory as a direct violation of the Geneva accords.

"No one has the right to impose on the Afghan people a 'government' formed at a bidding from abroad," the news agency said.

Chiefs and elders of the Tajik and Achakzai tribes at jirgahs in Herat Province stated their support for the Geneva accords and the policy of national reconciliation. Public rallies in support of the policy of peace and national accord in the country were also held in other provinces, BAKHTAR said.

Despite the fact that militants of the "Alliance of Seven" continue to block Afghan refugee camps in Pakistani territory, repatriates are returning home in an endless flow.

More than 700 people returned to the provinces of Konarha, Kabul, Parvan and Badakhshan over the past day.

Local authorities continue work to provide conditions for receiving compatriots. In Sar-e Pol, one more hotel was put into operation the other day.

Under the Afghan president's decree, 100 more prisoners have been pardoned in Qandahar and Baghlan Provinces.

BAKHTAR reported fighting between the Afghan Army and extremist groups.

Afghan troops carried out an operation to destroy an extremist group near Qalat, the main city of Zabol Province.

Another armed group was rendered harmless in Farah Province.

On June 18 through 20, extremists rocketed towns and villages of the country more than 30 times, killing nine and wounding 32 people.

In the evening of June 20, they shelled Qandahar. A rocket projectile hit a school yard. Two children were killed and five others wounded.

Pakistani Role Cited

LD2306033388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1645 GMT 23 Jun 88

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Vladimir Pasko]

[Text] In Kabul, special representatives of the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs have announced that more than 400 cases of deliberate violations by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements have now been recorded. From Pakistani territory the penetration by detachments of extremists and armed convoys into Afghanistan is continuing. Just as before, Islamabad is preventing Afghan refugees from returning to their homeland. My colleague Aleksandr Malikov will now tell you about this in greater detail:

[Malikov] When one sees the kind of behavior they in Pakistan have chosen in observing the Geneva agreements, one is filled with a desire to discuss the obligations of a country regarding the observation of international norms. As for Pakistan, such an obligation should ideally include both the concept of honesty toward the partner with whom the highly important document was signed, and honesty regarding one's own people, who are just as interested in its implementation. Ultimately, this commitment involves a worthy attitude to the world community's opinion linking the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan with the hope that it will become an example of how other extremely acute regional conflicts can be settled.

But, alas, we do not see any of this. In this case it is a matter of the lack of a proper sense of obligation. But surely it is not worthy of a state to permit such a state of affairs, in which arms convoys intended for use against its neighbor are shuttling across its frontiers. Of course it isn't. Especially since Islamabad is completely capable of putting a stop to it once and for all. For as THE WASHINGTON POST correspondent David Ottoway testifies, since the beginning of the opposition's struggle in 1979, Ziaul Haq and his intelligence service have almost completely controlled contacts, reconnaissance date, and the amounts of U.S. weapons supplied to opposition factions by various channels.

Surely the fact that, in allowing U.S. weapons to seep across the Afghan frontier Islamabad has essentially closed its frontier in the face of Afghans striving to finally get home, is not in conformity with the generally accepted norms of international relations. Of course it is not. There are reports that in the areas along the Pakistani border the number of checkpoints has been increased, undisguised attacks on refugees and the theft of their belongings are being organized.

Another thing is indicative: Up to now Pakistan has not expressed willingness to take part in the work of the mixed commission for the return of the refugees. You see, on this point there is an agreement in the Geneva package among the sides that is defined in a separate clause. In my opinion, Islamabad's ugly attitude to the UN mission on ensuring observation of the Geneva agreements needs to be particularly discussed. Pakistan is essentially refusing to cooperate with the members.

Highly instructive, incidentally, is the fact that the fundamentalist group of Hikmatyar, Hezb-e Eslami of Afghanistan, with which the Pakistani Administration has established particularly warm relations, is working out plans for terrorist actions against members of the UN mission. One has to talk about some kind of mutual interest. Naturally, interest and a sense of obligation in state relations do not necessarily mean success; that is only the path to good results without which one cannot attain them. The last 5 weeks have already proved that it is impossible to implement the Geneva agreements in practice unless all sides have an honest and responsible attitude to them. I think the commander of the Afghan Armed Forces, General Shanawa Tani, was right when he said in his speech on Kabul Radio that the observation of the Geneva agreements was equally in the interests of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Those two states are neighbors and will remain so for centuries.

Najibullah Addresses Afghan Party Plenum

LD2306110288 Moscow TASS in English 0951 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 22 TASS—A regular plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan was held here today. President Najibullah of Afghanistan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the party, made a report on the tasks of party organizations for ensuring armed defense of the republic and the democratic gains of the people.

The time that has elapsed since the previous plenum was full of events that confirmed the viability of the national reconciliation policy, as well as the fact that this policy is possible to implement, the Afghan leader pointed out. Important steps were made in the creation of a state with national sovereignty and territorial integrity, a state that upholds neutrality and non-alignment. In accordance with the Constitution, general elections to the National Council were held that was formed on the basis of the many-party and coalition principles. 1,600,000 people took part in the elections. The new Government headed by Mohammad Hassan Sharq got the vote of confidence at the first session of the National Council.

Najibullah pointed out in his report that on the whole a new state structure had been created in Afghanistan. It includes elements of the traditional jirgah democracy, parliamentarism and strong central power, takes into account the requirements of Islam and national customs and traditions.

He reiterated the invariability of the course towards the implementation of the Geneva accords and denounced the Pakistan-supported extremist-minded part of the opposition for not observing them. Najibullah pointed out that two factors determined today the life of the whole of Afghan society and the activities of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—the development and consolidation of the new state system, as well as the implementation of the Geneva accords. He said that if a persistent quest for compromises for the sake of peace did not bring desired results, the party was ready to protect the peace process arms in hand.

After the discussion of the report the plenum of the Central Committee of the party adopted a corresponding resolution. It expressed support for the provisions contained in Najibullah's report and pointed out the need for the mobilization of all the forces for defending the revolution and the national-democratic setup, for establishing peace in Afghanistan. The resolution specified measures for a further upgrading of the combat efficiency of the Armed Forces, the improvement of the work of army political bodies and primary organizations of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. It set the task of turning party organizations into a stronghold of the national reconciliation policy and the centre of organizing armed defense of the native land.

The plenum discussed a number of organizational questions. Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, member of the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the party.

The plenum discussed a number of other questions connected with the party life.

UN's Diego Cordovez Meets POW Rescue Group

LD2406054388 Moscow TASS in English 0540 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] New York June 24 TASS—Diego Cordovez, U.N. under secretary-general and his personal representative on settling the situation around Afghanistan, on Thursday received members of the International Committee for the Rescue of Russian Prisoners of War in Afghanistan.

Mikhail Shemyakin, a renowned Soviet artist living in the United States and co-chairman of the committee, said: "We are very glad that Diego Cordovez has supported us warmly and in a truly human manner. This matter is very complex and hard. We cannot say about some meaningful progress now but we hope for success."

Bernard Mandelbaum, member of the committee, told TASS after the meeting that this problem, as the committee believed, concerned basic human rights and the committee wanted to help several hundred Soviet prisoners of war to return home. He said Diego Cordovez was going to visit that region shortly and the committee hoped that he would be able to give assistance in solving this problem. He promised that he would receive representatives of our committee upon his return.

Members of the committee said that they also make attempts to enter into contact with the American authorities on this issue since the U.S. President promised during the meeting at Moscow State University to give assistance in getting Soviet servicemen back from prison.

Afghanistan Port Project Contract Signed

LD2206012388 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 20 Jun 88

[Text] Kabul June 20 TASS—The port of Hayraton, Afghanistan's most important transportation hub, will function more effectively and reliably due to the work for strengthening the banks and the construction of a moorage. This work will be jointly done by Soviet and Afghan organisations under an intergovernmental agreement signed in spring this year. Today a big contract was concluded as a follow-up to the agreement, according to which the Soviet side undertakes to carry out projecting and prospecting, supply the necessary equipment and materials and assign its specialists. Muhammad Khan Jalalar, Afghanistan's minister of commerce, who signed the documents from the Afghan side, told the ceremony that the new important contract is convincing proof of the development and strengthening of the Afghan-Soviet trade and economic relations. "The traditions of cooperation and joint fruitful work are in permament motion and development," the Afghan minister emphasized.

U.S. General Implicated in Ziaul Haq Actions

LD2306172488 Moscow TASS in English 1536 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] New Delhi June 23 TASS—The USA is directly implicated in the decision of Pakistani President General Ziaul Haq to dissolve the country's National Assembly and dismiss the government. This conclusion is drawn in the Indian newspaper "HINDUSTAN TIMES" analysing the information obtained by it. It is not accidental that the dismissal of Muhammad Khan Junejo from the office of prime minister in May this year coincided in time with the unofficial visit to Islamabad of General George Crist, commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM).

One of the main aims of the visit by the overseas guest was to discuss questions pertaining to bilateral military ties between the USA and Pakistan and the situation around Afghanistan. In the course of his talks with the head of the Pakistani regime, the HINDUSTAN TIMES notes, the American general insisted on continued support for the U.S. policy in the region. Thus, in particular, General George Crist demanded the resumption of the permission for the U.S. naval ships to call at the ports of Pakistan, that U.S. combat units be provided with the facilities they need.

Prime Minister Junejo, who is known to oppose vigorously that policy and repeatedly declare the need for limiting his country's military expenditure, also opposed the use in any form of the Pakistani territory by the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force".

Yet the main cause behind Ziaul Haq's decision to dismiss the government, the HINDUSTAN TIMES believes, was above all the prime minister's intention to abide strictly by the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and end support for the Afghan opposition.

During General Crist's visit to Islamabad the situation around that country drew a considerable amount of attention. In outlining a joint strategy, Washington and Islamabad drew the conclusion that when a half of the Soviet military contingent would be withdrawn from that country, the Afghan opposition will launch active combat operations. It is not accidental that the CENTCOM commander visited the populated locality of Nowshera lying at a distance of 40 kilometres from Peshawar. Nushera is one of the main bases for the supply of the Afghan opposition forces with American weapons.

After the consultations with the United States, in particular as a result of the discussion of the situation with General Crist, the CENTCOM commander, the head of the Islamabad regime decided to dissolve the National Assembly and dismiss the Junejo Government, the newspaper HINDUSTAN TIMES said in conclusion.

Iranian Guerrilla Group Captures Mehran

LD2306141288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Baghdad Radio has reported that the Iranian People's National Liberation Army of the Mojahedin-e Khalq organization has seized, and is continuing to hold on to, the town of Mehran which is situated not far from the Iranian-Iraqi border. Our Baghdad correspondent Aleksandr Levchenko reports the details:

[Levchenko] Iran's Mojahedin-e Khalq organization is today the strongest and most influential Iranian opposition movement. It is headed by Mas'ud Rajavi. Let me remind our listeners that the Mojahedin-e Khalq organization was set up by the opponents of the shah's regime in Iran. Many of its members were subjected to repressions during the years of the shah's rule. The Mojahedin-e Khalq made a great contribution to the victory of the antimonarchist revolution in Iran, taking a direct part in fighting against the shah's guards.

The representatives of religious circles who came to power in Iran, led by Khomeyni, soon outlawed the Mojahedin-e Khalq, which advocated democratic transformations in the country, and started to conduct one campaign of repressions after another against them. The organization was compelled to go back underground. Over the past few years, the Mojahedin-e Khalq organization has grown both qualitatively and quantitively. The National Liberation Army, set up only a year ago by the Mojahedin-e Khalq organization, has managed independently to carry out such a major military operation as the capture of the town of Mehran. Two regular Iranian army divisions were routed during the battle for the town, and booty was taken, including heavy weapons and materiel worth several hundred millions of dollars. Over 1,400 Iranian soldiers were taken prisoner. Tehran Radio has admitted that the Iranian military command has lost control of the town of Mehran. However, it hastened to declare at once that the operation was carried out by Iraqi units and subdivisions. This does not correspond to reality, to say the least, since the Iraqi Army has in the course of all the latest offensive operations liberated only its own territory, and has not crossed the international border between Iran and Iraq.

Tunisia Thanks Ukraine for Support on Abu Jihad

AU2306112488 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 16 Jun 88 p 1

[RATAU report: "Presentation of a Message From the President of Tunisia"]

[Text] On 15 June V.S. Shevchenko, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, received Ahmed Abderraouf Ounaies, Tunisian ambassador to the USSR, who presented a message from the President of the Tunisian Republic, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. The message expresses gratitude for the support given by the Ukrainian SSR at the UN Security Council during the discussion on Israel's encroachment upon the sovereignty of Tunisia.

We, the ambassador pointed out, have always highly valued the interventions made by the Ukrainian SSR delegations in defense of Tunisia's freedom and independence. This was also the case when on 16 April 1988 the agents of the Israeli special services killed on the territory of Tunisia an outstanding Palestinian leader, Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir]. The UN Security Council resolutely condemned this action.

In receiving the message, V.S. Shevchenko said that the working people of the Ukraine, like all Soviet people, qualified the Israeli actions as direct interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state. While protesting on behalf of our people, the permanent representative of the Ukrainian SSR condemned this aggressive act committed by Israel. We consider that the resolution adopted on the matter by the Security Council suits the interests of the Tunisian people. The Ukrainian SSR, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium emphasized, has given, gives, and will always give comprehensive support to Tunisia.

V.S. Shevchenko briefed the ambassador on the part of the Ukrainian SSR in Soviet-Tunisian trade and economic cooperation.

N.G. Khomenko, Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, was present at the ceremony of presentation.

Sub-Saharan Africa

French, U.S. Intentions in Horn of Africa Noted

EA2306111388 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 22 Jun 88

[Text] The Djibouti Republic has again demonstrated its role in regional politics, as indicated in a statement by the country's president, Hassan Gouled Aptidon, in which he said that Djibouti would not be a base for the Somali National Movement [SNM], which is opposed to the neighboring Siad Barre government. We present a commentary on this by Aleksandr Stepanov:

From this it is clear that there are friendly relations between the Governments of Djibouti and Somalia. President Hassan Gouled Aptidon's statement is wider-ranging than appears at first glance. This is particularly significant in matters pertaining to the situation in northern Somalia. Djibouti's position is clear and in keeping with contemporary events, which is a good tendency in the Horn of Africa. It is to be recalled that the Ethiopian-Somali talks began in January 1986 in Djibouti during the conference of the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development [IGADD]. This is where the leaders of Ethiopia and Somalia agreed to resolve the long-standing conflict between them. These talks among the leaders in Djibouti resulted in the agreement between Ethiopia and Somalia this year. In their agreement, they decided to stop supporting opposition groups and now, in a spirit of friendship, the Djibouti leadership has expressed its desire for genuine peace and good-neighborliness.

However, it should not be forgotten that there are forces whose political interests lie elsewhere. In line with an agreement reached in 1980, the United States uses the Somali port of Berbera, and there are 40,000 French soldiers stationed in Djibouti as well as a large French air base there at the entrance to the Indian Ocean. The U.S. plan in the Horn of Africa can be seen from its reaction to the agreement between Ethiopia and Somalia. The United States decided to increase its aid to Mogadishu.

This statement will evoke a similar reaction from France, which is in the process of updating its Mirages to a more modern model of aircraft.

There is another factor here. The leader of a group opposed to the Gouled Aptidon government, Aden Robleh Awaleh, has been living in Paris since 1986. The conference held in Djibouti, which resulted in an improvement in the Horn of Africa situation, was also held in 1986. Perhaps this was a coincidence? If so, then against whom are the forces of the United States and France being strengthened in the Horn of Africa? Will this eventually bring a clear improvement in the situation? In fact, it is out of step with the basic political line being pursued by the countries of the region. This cannot be explained simply as coincidence.

Skiba, CPSU Delegation End Zimbabwe Visit

PM2206145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Harare, 20 Jun—The visit to the Republic of Zimbabwe by the CPSU delegation headed by I.I. Skiba, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of a CPSU Central Committee department, ended today. During its stay in the country, a protocol on cooperation between the CPSU and the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front [ZANU-PF] was signed. The CPSU delegation had meetings with R. Mugabe, head of state and leader of ZANU-PF, and also with other state and public figures in the Republic.

The Soviet party delegation was seen off at the airport by A. Kabasa [name as published], member of the ZANU-PF Central Committee and deputy speaker of the Zimbabwean Parliament House of Assembly, and other officials.

Return to Moscow

PM2306125988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by I.S. Skiba, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry, which had been visiting Zimbabwe at the invitation of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front leadership, returned to Moscow from Harare on 21 June.

East Europe

Hungary's Varkonyi Assesses Moscow Summit

PM2306170588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Jun 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by Peter Varkonyi, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and Hungarian foreign minister: "Coordinates of Dialogue"]

[Text] Budapest—All attention was riveted on Moscow. This can be said of the time when television screens throughout the world showed M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan against the backdrop of the Kremlin. The international press assigned a central place to coverage of the Soviet-U.S. meeting.

The Hungarian public, working people, and the party and state leadership followed the Moscow talks very expectantly and attentively and they welcome and support their results. The USSR-U.S. dialogue initiated in 1985, which has assumed a regular, all-embracing, realistic, and constructive character, also accords with the interests of our motherland and with its international aspirations. This dialogue is leading to increasingly palpable changes and gradual progress both in bilateral relations and in resolving the international questions on the agenda.

Which of the concrete achievements of this Moscow meeting do we consider especially important? There is evidence on hand of the rapprochement of positions on a number of the greatest problems of arms reduction and disarmament. And this is a source of delight. It is with satisfaction that we take account of the fact that as a result of the talks in recent months and at the summit the prospect of concluding an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms has emerged with increasing clarity, and differences of opinion on certain contentious issues have lessened. The fact that the sides have pledged to continue the talks and to seek mutually acceptable solutions is creating an opportunity to put a successful end soon to the complex work of preparing an agreement. Maybe even this year. Things are decidedly improving because the two countries' stances in connection with the stipulations of preserving and observing the ABM Treaty have drawn closer together. We hope that new onward movement along the path of reducing and eliminating strategic nuclear arms will occur in the wake of the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-range Missiles, which entered into force during the Moscow meeting.

We assess positively the talks which are being conducted on other disarmament questions, including verification of underground nuclear tests, the banning of chemical weapons, and reductions in conventional forces and arms in Europe. They have already brought partial progress and better understanding of one another's positions. The realistic approach to the problems of international security and to disarmament incorporates an acknowledgment that it is frequently impossible to achieve total success at a single stroke on extremely complex, chronic questions that have sometimes been at a standstill for decades. This realization was manifested in Moscow. The path is more realistic and more passable if it is covered stage by stage and if we draw near to full accord consistently and gradually.

The experience of recent decades shows that talks on the fundamental problems of our time, including arms reduction, can produce lasting and significant results only if relations between the two great powers are by and large settled and if they are not burdened with acute international conflicts, and if bilateral ties and cooperation in various spheres are developed on the basis of mutual interest.

The fact that over the past 3 years Soviet-U.S. dialogue at summit level has also encompassed regional crises, the human rights sphere, and various spheres of bilateral relations has greatly facilitated the attainment of important results in the elimination and reduction of nuclear weapons and strategic equilibrium.

The dialogue in Moscow did not only touch upon bilateral contacts. The fact that the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan is also attended by the emergence of the possibility of eliminating other regional seats of tension and crises at the same time will also have a positive effect on the entire international atmosphere. This was also discussed in the talks. But the complexity of the problems under discussion also virtually precludes the rapid attainment of visible results in this area. At the same time the Moscow talks show that the two great nuclear powers can facilitate peaceful political settlement of crises in various areas of the planet if they take as a basis the balance of their interests and a consideration for other states' interests.

We believe that the significance of the Moscow meeting cannot be assessed solely on the basis of the agreements and documents that have been signed. One has to see that in Moscow the reassuring forward advance continued to be consolidated. The relations between the two countries have gone through a period of sharp confrontation accompanied by political tension. They have now reached the stage where the prospect of qualitatively new development may be engendered.

There is increasing realization that the USSR and the United States cannot do without one another. On the one hand, this manifests itself in the fact that war is impermissible in the nuclear age and, thus, military competition must be limited and the danger of confrontation reduced. On the other hand, the two great nuclear powers bear a special responsibility for seeking a solution to mankind's common problems, a solution which can also only be achieved through talks and cooperation. Collaboration in joint nuclear power and space research, for instance, is developing along such lines.

The Moscow meeting, indisputably, strengthened the main trend of recent years, the trend characterized by the fact that confrontation with its threat of the danger of a new arms race and an increase in tension is being put on the back burner. Elements founded on mutual interests and civilized coexistence and cooperation are emerging more clearly in Soviet-U.S. relations and in all East-West ties as well.

What created this opportunity? We consider the determining factor to be the new political thinking, the reflection in the international arena of the process of restructuring in the USSR—aimed at the country's social, economic, and political renewal—which has become firmly established in Soviet foreign policy. But another important factor must not be disregarded either—realism and the realization of the need for dialogue are growing stronger in U.S. foreign policy.

It is well known that the U.S. presidential elections will take place this year. A new White House leader will take up his post. The talks which the Soviet Union has held hitherto and which are still going on with R. Reagan, I believe, will create a stable basis for ties with the next administration. This will help to consolidate continuity and consistency and will help continue the good rate of forward movement that has been achieved. The Moscow summit, which was distinguished by broad dialogue between the two countries' representatives, helped trust—based on a realistic approach and calculation—to take the place of prejudice. It also gave a boost to the productive and stable development of bilateral relations.

Welcoming the results of the Moscow meeting, we Hungarians note with particular satisfaction that dialogue at summit level has also encompassed questions of security and cooperation in Europe and conventional arms reductions. For we are faced with an urgent task—the successful completion of the meeting in Vienna on themes of European security. We believe that this must be done in order for East-West relations on our continent to be able to embark more rapidly on a new phase and be boosted to a new level. As a result the path will be opened to talks on building confidence and security in

Europe and the lessening of military confrontation. But the favorable direction of development in the international situation, which is gradually leading away from confrontation to relations based on cooperation can only unfold with the constructive participation of all countries, irrespective of their social system.

The Moscow summit meeting created very favorable conditions for dialogue, East-West cooperation, and collaboration to continue dynamically and to expand in Europe. Hungary is prepared to take a most active and diverse part in forming and strengthening international relations of a new kind.

MSZMP-RCP Talks on Relations Proposed

PM2306180588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Letters"]

[Text] Budapest, 22 Jun—The MTI News Agency has circulated a report that the RCP sent a letter to the MSZMP in May this year. It said, in particular, that Romania's achievements and Romania's policy on the nationalities question were presented in Hungary in a distorted manner, and it contained a proposal that the general secretaries of the two parties meet with the aim of examining bilateral, and, above all, economic ties.

In response the Hungarian side confirmed that the RCP can count on the MSZMP as a constructive partner in a businesslike and creative discussion and solution of problems and in the balanced development of bilateral ties. The letter of reply also points out that while the satisfaction of the needs of Hungarians living in Romania is Romania's business, Hungary has always attached importance to the question of the shaping of individual and collective rights relating to the overall situation of the Hungarian national minority, the possibility of the active participation of this minority in cooperation being implemented with Hungary, and the unimpeded maintenance of ties of kinship.

The MSZMP made a proposal that talks take place as soon as possible between the secretaries of the two party Central Committees on international questions, at which all elements of Hungarian-Romanian relations would be examined once again. In this way a basis for preparing a meeting of government heads, and subsequently—of the MSZMP and RCP general secretaries—could be created.

Earlier the MTI agency reported the conversation between K. Grosz and members of the presidium and aktiv of the Union of Hungarian Architects during which the MSZMP general secretary stated his willingness to visit Romania. He noted that there was no need to look backward in bilateral relations with Romania. It is much more important to take the future into account. We are proceeding from the present-day reality, we are placing on the agenda questions awaiting solution, and we are trying to conduct an open and frank exchange of opinions on them, the Hungarian leader pointed out.

West Europe

Military Chiefs Bid Farwell to Finnish Minister

PM2306103788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Jun 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "On a Tour of the Country"]

[Text] Finnish Defense Minister O. Norrback, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, has left for a tour of the country.

Army General D.T. Yazov; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; and other generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces saw off the Finnish guest at Sheremetyevo Airport.

Colonel General S.A. Dikov, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, is accompanying O. Norrback on his trip around the country.

The Finnish and Soviet state flags were raised at the airport, a guard of honor was mounted on the tarmac, and the two countries' state anthems were played.

Today the Finnish defense minister visited Tbilisi.

Lieutenant General I.N. Rodionov, commander of the Transcaucasus Military District; Major General A.N. Novikov, member of the Military Council and chief of the district political directorate; and other officials met the guest and his entourage at the airport. O. Norrback called on the district commander and looked around the sights of the Georgian capital.

Lt Gen I.N. Rodionov gave a dinner in honor of the Finnish defense minister.

Kamentsev Holds Fishing Talks With Norwegians

PM2306191188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, received B.M. Eidem, Norwegian minister of fisheries, and A. Eikeland, the country's deputy foreign minister in charge of foreign economic issues.

During their conversation, which was held in a businesslike and constructive spirit, they exchanged opinions on questions concerning the implementation of the Murmansk initiatives, which are aimed at turning that region into a zone of peace, trust, and mutually beneficial cooperation.

The economic aspects of Soviet proposals were discussed in detail, and the long-term directions of cooperation in fishing and a number of other spheres were examined. The Norwegian side confirmed its interest in jointly developing and utilizing the resources of the Kola Peninsula.

N.I. Kotlyar, USSR minister of the fish industry, and O. Bucher-Johanessen, Norwegian ambassador to the USSR, were present at the conversation.

Italian CP Faces Time of 'Serious Reflection'

PM2306100788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jun 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Italian Communist Party Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum"]

[Text] Rome, 21 Jun—A report has been delivered to the Italian Communist Party [PCI] Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum here by PCI Deputy Secretary General Achille Occhetto.

Regarding Alessandro Natta's request to be replaced as PCI secretary general, A. Occhetto expressed deep gratitude to him on behalf of Italian Communists for the tremendous work he has done in the party over the years.

The speaker pointed out the need for serious and deep reflection about the prevailing state of affairs and broad discussion in the runup to the next PCI congress on the question of renewing the party's policy and setting the Italian Communists' new course. This discussion must yield new ideas and proposals and strengthen the PCI's position in Italian society. This essentially involves, according to him, examining the role of the Italian Communists, who form an integral part of the forces of the European left. When seeking to determine the causes of the PCI's lack of success in the partial local elections, he continued, it must not be forgotten that the Communist Party's renewal is taking place in conditions of intense political struggle and that there are forces seeking to diminish or even nullify the PCI's role in Italian society.

General discussion ensued after A. Occhetto's report to the PCI Central Committee and Central Control Commission plenum.

Gorbachev Congratulates Italian CP's Occhetto

PM2306181788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1

[Gorbachev congratulatory message to Italian Communist Party General Secretary Occhetto]

[Text] To Comrade Achille Occhetto, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party

Dear Comrade Achille Occhetto!

I cordially congratulate you on your election to the lofty position of general secretary of the Italian Communist Party.

Colossal tasks remain to be resolved in the coming years, on the eve of mankind's third millennium, and above all the task of preserving civilization on earth. Communists, socialists, democrats, and all progressive and peaceloving forces on our planet can and must make an important and invaluable contribution to resolving these tasks.

I wish you and all Italian Communists great successes in the struggle for the triumph of the ideals of peace, democracy, and socialism!

With communist greetings,

M. Gorbachev.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. 'Pseudoliberalization' in Haiti Fails

PM2306113188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jun 88 Second Edition p 5

[A. Makhov "Commentary of the Day": "Out in the Open. Haiti: The Result of 'Democracy' Without Democracy"]

[Text] It has already been reported that a military coup has occurred in the small Caribbean state of Haiti. General Henri Namphy, former leader of the military junta, has come to power. President Leslie Manigat has been thrown out of the country and is at present in the Dominican Republic.

At first glance events in Haiti are paradoxical. General Namphy, a supporter of "strong rule," has overthrown President Manigat, a man who is by no means a democrat and who supports the same "strong rule." What is the underlying reason for this? Let's have a look. In 1986 a wave of popular protest swept away the 30-year-old regime of the Duvalier dynasty. True to his word to U.S. monopolies, Duvalier junior ("Baby Doc") so sullied himself with the blood of his own people and compromised himself in the public eye that even Washington was pleased at his expulsion from the political arena. "Baby Doc" clearly was an obstacle for the White House. In 1979 the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza was ousted from favor for the same reasons. Then the plan for "Somocism without Somoza" was elaborated, which, however, was not able to be implemented owing to the victory of the Sandinist revolution. But the plan that had failed in one country was used successfully 7 years later in Haiti. Leave everything as it is and only slightly camouflage the fundamental sores in Haitian society—this was the aim that the White House set the military junta headed by General Namphy which came to power after the overthrow of Duvalier. Namphy had been one of the leaders of the National Guard under the former dictator.

Nothing changed in the country: The same complete domination of U.S. monopolies in the economy, the same indescribable poverty among the population (Haitians on average earn $1 per day—a kind of world record!), the same "Tontons Macoutes" hired killers, the only difference being that they were now acting "unofficially" as it were. But, on the other hand, Namphy talked a great deal about democracy and liberalization and promised general elections. But even this political bluff proved dangerous for the military junta. An independent national human rights commission began to observe the preparations for the general elections. It became evident that it would be difficult to rig the results. An unforeseen candidate could come to power and who knew what would happen then to the U.S. monopolies and the Duvalierists themselves.

The day of 29 November last year—the day on which the elections were scheduled—has gone down as one of the bloodiest days in the country's history. The "Tontons Macoutes" shot and hacked down with machetes Haitians who ventured to appear at the polling booths. The elections were wrecked. Even those who had made assurances that Haiti was making successful progress toward democracy were now forced to show their indignation. Washington threatened to impose an economic embargo if "democratic elections were not held in the very near future."

Such elections were held this January as ordered. Remembering November, the electors virtually did not vote. Most candidates withdrew their candidacies. Then Leslie Manigat, the 57-year old politician, who at one time worked in the government of Duvalier senior and then emigrated from the country as he did not get along with the government, appeared on the political scene. He suited both Washington and the military since he stated immediately that the army presence is an inevitable reality in Haiti. This was the sort of man who could be handed the post of president and in the course of the recent electoral farce he became president.

The Duvalierists headed by Namphy continued to hold on to real power. The military completely controlled the situation in the country with the help of a parliament where four in five deputies were former officials in the Duvalier dictatorship. However, Namphy had a perfect cover now. People in Washington were also satisfied. They figured that yet another "democracy" had been established with the election of a "legitimate" president.

It looks as though some time later President Manigat ceased to correctly understand his role in the scenario. He decided to reshuffle the military—exclusively on the basis of his own personal preference, moreover. This cost Manigat even his illusory power. The coup followed 3 days later after the president decided to retire several high-ranking military men, including General Namphy himself. The president was violating the rules of the game and Namphy decided to come clean.

Masks were removed. Once again an overt military dictatorship was set up in the country. This signifies the complete failure of the White House plan for pseudoliberalization of the regime. "Legitimate rule" cannot be set up where there is no legality. "Democracy" cannot be established without democracy. Reports fleetingly appear in the world's press to the effect that people in the United States are elaborating plans to remove from power the odious figures of Pinochet and Stroessner-...but in such a way that the political regimes in Chile and Paraguay don't change one iota. Maybe, events in Haiti will teach the White House a lesson?

Fidel Castro Comments on Salvador Allende

*PY2306035588 Moscow to Chile in Spanish
2030 GMT 22 Jun 88*

[Text] The 80th anniversary of the birthdate of President Salvador Allende Gossen will be celebrated within 4 days. Therefore, it is especially useful to investigate his work, his thinking, and his actions through those who knew him personally in order to find clues and discover details.

In the film "Acta General de Chile," recently made by Chilean film director Miguel Littin, some foreign personalities such as Nobel laureate Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Fidel Castro discussed several features of the personality of the last constitutional president of Chile.

It is especially moving the evidence given and the homage paid by Fidel Castro, who personally knew and spoke with Allende on several occasions.

We think that in the future, the Cuban revolutionary leader will have many other things to say about Allende. This will also be done by other figures who, after the downfall of the dictatorship, will help to establish the martyr president in the position of an internationally respected statesman. Fifteen years of a systematic smear campaign by Pinochet's propagandists have not been enough to tarnish the figure of our comrade president. Some people have managed to silence his name for many years, to maintain in secrecy his work, and to ignore his courage when he confronted the dictator with just his rifle, his thinking, and his fanatical loyalty.

Let us now listen to Fidel Castro:

[Begin recording] Salvador Allende was a man of great dignity, a man who had self-esteem, which was fully justified. He had a very high sense of honor. He was a sort of knight-errant, a noble person. He was a man of great honesty. He always was a man of honor who kept his word. He was deeply involved with the things he did. In addition to (?all) these features, he had a sharp and strong (?intellect). He was a very intelligent man. (?First), of course, to a certain degree he was a man passionately dedicated to his actions or to the things he did. He was a very courageous man, which was a very outstanding feature of his personality that he demonstrated at the end of his life. [end recording]

This is the way President Allende is remembered by his friend Fidel Castro.

Envoy to Mexico on Gorbachev Visit, Relations

PA2206123388 Mexico City EL DIA in Spanish 20 Jun 88 p 13

[Interview with Soviet Ambassador to Mexico Rostislav Sergeyev by EL DIA Editorial Council Chairman Alberto Beltran; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Beltran] It has been said that Mr Gorbachev could not visit Latin America, including Mexico, without first having resolved the disarmament matter. Now that this has happened, when do you think he could be making that trip?

[Sergeyev] I saw Gorbachev in May 1986. He said in front of several ambassadors that he was very interested in visiting Latin America. He knows about the profound changes that have taken place on this continent. He knows about the international political initiatives of Mexico and other Latin American countries and about the work carried out by the Contadora and Support Groups to secure peace in Central America. This is why he wants to make the trip.

I believe this trip will take place in the near future, but there is no specific date for it yet. I personally know he is interested in making the trip. He also said this to Mexican Foreign Secretary Sepulveda when they spoke in Moscow in May 1987.

We are going to continue talks regarding this through diplomatic channels, and I hope these do not last too long.

[Beltran] How do you view Mexican-Soviet relations at this point, Mr Ambassador?

[Sergeyev] We are pleased with the state of political and cultural relations. Proof of this is the recent exposition of contemporary Soviet paintings in the Modern Arts Museum, the tour by the Moscow Symphony Orchestra through Mexico, last year's exposition by Mexican painter Chavez Vega in my country, and the visit to be made by Amalia Hernandez' Folkloric Ballet.

Cultural relations have been intensive since the Mexican and Soviet revolutions. Diego and Siqueiros visited the Soviet Union. We have edited millions of copies of the works of Rulfo, Fuentes, and other Mexican writers.

I do not have to say that we have many points of agreement on the disarmament issue. I have already given you my opinion on President de la Madrid's speech at the United Nations.

We could recall the Soviet Union's support for the Contadora and Support Groups and for the economic rights charter that Mexico presented at the United Nations in the seventies.

We must further develop our economic relations. We are concerned with this aspect because, ultimately, it is the economy that rules over international and bilateral relations. A broad economic and commercial cooperation program is necessary. We have some projects we can develop in the future. There is a solid base for promoting specific industrial contracts.

We are in the final phase in the preparation of this type of program. With it, we will be entering a more intense period in the economic and commercial aspects, and we will stop being concerned with the problems we have had until now. We understand that it is necessary to intensify our relations with the private sector. Symmetry is necessary in the development of economic relations.

Political & Social

Latest Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Issue

Republican Press Reviewed

NC2406080688 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0347 GMT 23 Jun 88

[From the review of the republican press]

[Text] As is known, a session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, that examined the question of the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast from the structure of the Azerbaijan SSR to that of the Armenian SSR, was held in Stepanakert on 21 June. A report on the session has been transmitted by Central Television in the "Vremya" program and also published in PRAVDA.

An AZERINFORM correspondent has had a meeting with Comrade Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who participated in the work of the session of the oblast soviet, and asked him to talk about its results and [words indistinct]. This interview with the chairman of the presidium of the republic's highest body of state power is published in all the republican newspapers under the heading: An Expression of [words indistinct].

Under the heading, The Development of Internationalism in [words indistinct], KOMMUNIST, KOMMUNIST in Armenian, and VYSHKA publish a review of letters from [words indistinct] internationalists on the subject of events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY publishes a letter from the first secretary of the Baku's Kirov Raykom, comrade [name indistinct], entitled Peace and Tranquility [words indistinct].

Armenian Press Summarized

NC2406083788 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 23 Jun 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] On its first page, the paper carries official material. TASS correspondents report on the session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of the Azerbaijan SSR held in Stepanakert. The session examined the question of the situation that has taken shape in the oblast and the measures to stabilize it. The session found it necessary to once again appeal directly to the USSR Supreme Soviet with a request to examine with all attention the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and grant its consent to the transfer of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast into the structure of the Armenian SSR. The session called on the population of the oblast to restore in every possible way the tempo of normal work at enterprises, organizations, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes, and to mobilize all efforts to make up for shortfalls in all fields of the national economy.

The paper publishes the resolution adopted unanimously by the session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

'Deliberate' Gas Leak in Armenia

AU2406080288 Paris AFP in English 0756 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, June 24 (AFP)—Forty-five Armenian women were hospitalised Thursday in the Massis region of southeastern Armenia with gas-poisoning as a result of a deliberate gas leak in a textile factory, a local official said Friday. The official for the Massis regional authorities admitted there were "rumours" that the leak had been started by Azerbaijanis, who are in open conflict with the Armenians over the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh.

An investigation into the cause of the incident was underway, the official said. He said it must have been an act of sabotage as the factory had been running smoothly, with no technological problems. The type of gas was not known.

The official said the women's lives were not in danger.

Armenian nationalist Yalastyan Hambartsoum in a telephone call from the Armenian capital of Yerevan clearly blamed the Azerbaijanis for the factory gassing, which is certain to fuel the inter-ethnic unrest in the neighbouring republics. He is a member of the dissolved Karabakh Committee which has spearheaded the five-month campaign for the Armenian-dominated region of Nagorno-Karabakh to be transferred to Armenia.

One week ago, eight Armenians and eight Azerbaijanis were injured in a clash in Massis triggered by housing problems. About 7,000 Azeris and Armenian refugees have crossed the border between the two southern republics in opposite directions, forcing local authorities to arrange housing exchanges.

Patiashvilo on Nagorno-Karabakh, Tatar Problems

LD2306171188 Moscow TASS in English 1653 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—"I believe the discussion of all the problems related to Nagorno-Karabakh, including the possibility of the transfer of that autonomous region of Azerbaijan to Armenia, should be held constitutionally in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR," said First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia Dzhumber Patiashvili. He answered today questions from newsmen at the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference. The problem of interethnic ties was touched upon during the press conference devoted to the democratisation of Soviet society. This problem will be discussed at the coming forum of the Soviet Communists.

Dzhumber Patiashvili, one of the 106 delegates to the conference from Georgia, said that the situation which has shaped in Transcaucasia in connection with the uneasy situation in Nagorno-Karabakh is unpleasant to all the people residing in the area. There is a need for a fair solution to this conflict which influences in a certain measure interethnic relations in Georgia which is inhabited by about half a million Armenians and 250 thousand Azerbaijanians, Dzhumber Patiashvili said.

The journalists were told that the delegation from the party organisation of Azerbaijan includes five delegates from the Communists of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Foreign correspondents also showed interest in the problem of Crimean Tatars. Head of the press centre Yuriy Sklyarov said that this problem has been analyzed and studied for a prolonged period of time by the governmental commission with the participation of representatives of state, party and public organisations, as well as representatives of Crimean Tatrs.

During profound and serious work, economic, social and cultural needs of the Crimean Tatars have been taken into consideration to the utmost, Yuriy Sklyarov said. The possibility of their settlement in various areas of the USSR was considered. As a result the commission has arrived at the conclusion that there are no reasons for granting the demand of a part of the Crimean Tatars to set up an autonomous region in the Crimea as the population of the Crimea trebled over the past 40 years and it has become a popular resort of an all-union importance. "Therefore it is impossible to resolve the question about the settlement in the Crimea of all wishing so. But family ties, the needs for family reunion and other circumstances are taken into consideration in individual cases", Yuriy Sklyarov said.

At the same time he noted that certain extremist-minded groups agitate public opinion, whip up tension and interfere with the work of the govenmental commission. Therefore the necessary preventive measures have to be taken, Yuriy Sklyarov said. They do not involve physical, moral or political damage.

Red Army 'Ignores' Nagorno-Karabakh Agitation

NC2406072288 Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 21 Jun 88 p 7

[Kenan Biliz and Asaf Ergun report: "Tension Is High in Armenia"]

[Text] Kars/Dogukapi, (MILLIYET News Agency)—While crossing through Turkey from the Soviet Union by train, two students from Madagascar, who study in the Azerbaijan SSR State University, and a British free-lance journalist informed MILLIYET about developments in the Nagorno- Karabakh region in the Soviet Union, which has turned into a "boiling caldron."

The two students, Solo Radriamampiovona and Josephine Ravao Henriette, told a MILLIYET correspondent, while waiting for the replacement of the Soviet locomotive of the train which brought them to the Kars Dogukapi border gate station between Turkey and the Soviet Union, that Soviet police and Red Army units had ignored excessive Armenian agitation during the incidents in the region. Solo, who is an engineering student, and Josephine, who studies in the Law Department of the Azerbaijan SSR State University, gave the following eyewitness account of the incidents in the region:

"As two African guests in the Soviet Union, we maintain an impartial approach. However, as far as we are concerned, a significant amount of tension prevails in Azerbaijan SSR and the Armenian SSR, particularly in the Nagorno-Karabakh region. Groups of 10,000 to 15,000 people gather almost daily in Yerevan to demonstrate against the Azerbaijan SSR. Even in Nagorno-Karabakh, where 80 percent of the population is Muslim, the people gather to demonstrate against each other nearly every day. The demonstrations have led to clashes between the two sides on a number of occasions. Our observations showed that the Soviet police and Red Army units were somewhat indifferent toward excessive Armenian agitation.

"The CPSU Central Committee, that is, the Kremlin, has not yet responded to the decision adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the question of the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR. However, we know that the Armenians have more influence on the Kremlin than the Azerbaijanis. Tension is extremely high on the Azerbaijani front. The Armenians and the Azerbaijanis in Nagorno-Karabakh shop in different markets and use different restaurants, clubs, and even streets and avenues. The two sides meet only during the demonstrations to exchange slogans.

"We heard that the Western press organs reported the death of a policeman during the clashes which took place a few months ago. The report was wrong. As far as we know, around 35 people, many of them Azerbaijanis, were killed during the incidents at the time. We have observed an attempt by the police and Red Army units to avoid harsh moves since then. Nevertheless, security officials seem to be maintaining a silent and indifferent approach in favor of the Armenians."

Free-lance journalist Alexander Clark, who visited Yerevan and Nagorno-Karabakh after acquiring a tourist visa from the Soviet Union, said the following:

"Demonstrations are held frequently in Yerevan and Nagorno-Karabakh. People are arguing all the time. Tension in the region is high. The Azerbaijanis have described the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision as an open move to breach the Soviet Constitution. On the other hand, they have accused the Kremlin of failing to adopt a resolute stand against Armenian agitation.

"The Armenians make up 20 to 25 percent of the population in Nagorno-Karabakh. Nevertheless, their demonstrations are very organized and effective. They are making a systematic effort to convince the Kremlin to agree to their demands. Demonstrators occasionally confront each other. They exchange slogans such as 'Armenians move out of Nagorno-Karabakh' and 'Azerbaijanis move out of Nagorno-Karabakh.' The Azerbaijani people have a crushing majority over the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. However, it is obvious that the Armenian demonstrations are more effective. I believe that the attitude of Soviet security officials, which seems to be somewhat in favor of the Armenians, is one of the reasons for this.

"In short, the incidents in the region are escalating dangerously. Meanwhile, it has been reported that the Kremlin is greatly worried about this state of affairs but is unable to do anything, except to maintain its present silence."

The Azerbaijani conductor of the Soviet train did not reply to questions put to him. He also refused to have his photograph taken. He only said: "The decision rests with the Communist Party."

Readers' Letters Address Karabakh Dispute

PM2306161988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jun 88 First Edition p 1

[Readers' letters feature under the rubric "Today's letters": "Let Us Live and Work in Tranquillity"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The PRAVDA editorial office receives numerous letters and telegrams expressing concern over the events and today's state of affairs in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. Soviet people are worried by the atmosphere of tension and by the absence of an opportunity to work and live normally. Here are three letters from the editorial office mailbag in the last few days:

Dear brothers and sisters, we Armenians living in Soviet Azerbaijan are greatly alarmed. Events occurring in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] are causing serious concern and bitterness. Our peoples are linked by many years of friendship. Living in fraternal Azerbaijan, we sense the unity of all nations and the benevolent attitude of the indigenous population. We have been and still are living as one family. The conflict situation which has developed in and around Nagorno-Karabakh is bringing sadness to people and is seriously damaging the country's economy and interethnic relations.

The situation is growing more exacerbated and the anti-restructuring forces which have brought this conflict into being are unwilling to calm down. By its decision to accept the NKAO as part of Armenia, the Armenian Supreme Soviet is fanning passions.

[Signed] Arutyinov, Ambartsumyan, Melkumov, Ivanyan, Ambartsumov, and other workers of the No 74 Secondary Vocational and Technical School, Baku

I am following events in Nagorno-Karabakh with anxiety. Emotions have gained the upper hand over reason. Abandoning work—actions like this damage not only this oblast's economy but also the economy of other regions and the working man's interests.

We are separated by the Caspian Sea, but this is no barrier between our peoples! Azerbaijan and Armenia deliver many products to Kazakhstan. Pipes for oil industry workers, components for instruments and machines, various consumer goods. Strikes result in disruptions of deliveries, and this affects the steady work of enterprises. Now, after the transition to economic accountability, labor remuneration is conducted according to end results, and where are end results to come from if a collective is short-supplied by its suppliers? It appears that our workers' solidarity means nothing in the face of slogans by the organizers of strikes and demonstrations, in the face of the rumors being spread by them.

Interethnic relations are a delicate matter, it is akin to smelting metal—everything must be measured; otherwise, the product will not be steel but only a totally useless alloy. There is no need to shout your mouth off, but matters should not be glossed over either. We heard it said until very recently: We are nurtured on internationalism almost from infancy. These words smack of complacency. And this will lead to no good. In the past, and under its cover, an unhealthy situation in interethnic relations also developed in our republic. Advantage was taken of it by irresponsible people and demagogues who tricked young people with a slogan which offended national dignity. I was shocked by the Alma-Ata events in December 1986. A sense of sorrow and shame remained with me for a long time, as it did with others. But I must say that common sense and moral health helped my people to take a sober look at events, and are now helping them to overcome the alienation between nations.

[Signed] I. Ukebayev, honored metallurgical worker of the Kazakh SSR, Aktyubinsk

A few days ago PRAVDA published a report on the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet decision to consent to the incorporation of NKAO in Armenia. It was immediately followed by a report on a session by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet which deemed the transfer of the NKAO from Azerbaijan to be unacceptable. So what happens next? What is the legal, the legistlative basis for solving such problems?

[Signed] A. Andreyevskiy, Moscow

We Answer Our Reader's Question [subhead]

Article 78 of the USSR Constitution, adopted on 7 October 1977, reads: "The territory of a union republic cannot be altered without its consent. The boundaries between union republics may be altered by mutual agreement of the republics concerned, subject to ratification by the USSR."

Platform of Estonian 'People's Front' Published

WA18000426 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Jun 88 p 2

[Text of "People's Front" platform published under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Citizen Initiative..."]

[Text] 1. The People's Front is a democratic movement based on citizen initiative. Its primary goal is to realize the will of the people via elective soviet organs and public control of the activities of the most important organs and the state apparatus.

2. The creation of a People's Front is motivated by the necessity of putting into motion a democratic mechanism for radical reforms in order to effectively promote the implementation of the CPSU policy of perestroyka in economic, socio-political and cultural life, to jointly resist attempts by the bureaucracy to preserve and restore the forms of leadership of public life which were characteristic of Stalinism and the time of stagnation, and to fight against corruption and the abuse of power.

3. The People's Front unites and coordinates the initiatives of various societies, clubs, labor collectives, and other groups for implementing the policy of perestroyka, the battle against Stalinism and the administrative economic system. The People's Front unites the inhabitants of Estonia of all nationalities. The socio-political platform for People's Front activities is based on the problems expressed in the appeal to the 19th party conference adopted at the joint plenum of the leadership of the ESSR Creative Unions, and in the open letter to the governing organs of the ESSR. The economic platform of the People's Front is based on the shift to full economic accountability in the Estonian SSR.

4. The slogans of the People's Front are socialist democracy and pluralism, political and economic sovereignty of the union republics, cultural autonomy of all nationalities, the protection of civil rights, and the interests of working people.

5. The primary cells in the organizational structure of the People's Front are support groups formed on the initiative of citizens at enterprises, in organizations, societies, cooperatives, associations, or place of residence. The activities of the support groups are coordinated by regional soviets of authorized representatives. The representatives are elected in the support groups by secret ballot.

To ensure that the representatives have direct contact with all members of the group, it is recommended that at large enterprises and organizations several small support groups be formed instead of one large one. The highest organ of the People's Front is a general assembly of authorized representatives (national congress). The People's Front would be led by a collegial organ (republic soviet of authorized representatives) elected at the congress.

6. The People's Front is not subordinate to any other organization or body, and it does not determine the activity of organizations and associations attached to it beyond the general actions of the People's Front and the goals and forms of its activity agreed upon in the organs of the People's Front. The influence of the CPSU is ensured through democratic means by the political convictions of Communists participating in the People's Front.

7. The basic goals and forms of activity of the People's Front are the organization of cooperation between electors and deputies (meetings with deputies, inquiries, etc.); participation in election campaigns (nominating candidates, compiling mandates, etc.); presenting reports and submitting proposals to soviet organs; public discussion of resolutions and draft proposals; preparing referendums, etc. The People's Front actively takes part in improving the electoral system, in transforming clubs of electors into constantly active public authorities. Representatives of the People's Front take part in the work of electoral commissions.

8. A condition for participating in the activity of the People's Front is the active and purposeful support of the CPSU policy of perestroyka. The expression of conservative, Stalinist points of view and support of an administrative economic system are not compatible with the work of the People's Front. Participation in the activities of the People's Front is not limited by party membership, nationality or religious conviction.

9. Leadership posts in the People's Front cannot be combined with important staff positions in the party, Komsomol, trade union or state apparatus.

10. The activity of the People's Front and all its organs is public and takes place in strict accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the Estonian SSR.

11. The People's Front considers it necessary to publish an information bulletin, "Bulletin of the People's Front" ["Vestnik Narodnogo Fronta"], and establish its own publishing organ.

12. The People's Front is a legal entity and has its own clearing account. The material resources of the People's Front will come from the sales of publications and other items, and from voluntary contributions. The use of resources will be monitored by an auditing commission chosen at the national congress.

Estonian Party Leader Vyalyas on Independence

LD2306165288 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1500 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] [Announcer] The new party leader in Estonia thinks that the recent demands made by Estonians are realistic. The party leader, Vayno Vyalyas, entered the post in a situation where many different kinds of pressures are directed toward him. The first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party gave an interview yesterday evening in which he revealed his political views for the first time. Hannu Vilpponen interviewed him:

[Begin Vilpponen recording] There are people who wish to make Estonia into an economically independent state; in practice this means that the power of decision would be taken from Moscow to your own hands here in Estonia. Are these kinds of ideas realistic, or are they only dreams? [end recording]

[Announcer] Vayno Vyalyas responded: This is not at all exceptional, but rather a (?realistic) economic-scientific trial, which will undoubtedly bring realistic results. In other words, it is a dream but it is also a reality. The new party leader, Vayno Vyalyas, thinks that it is completely possible that the Estonians' idea of an independent economic decisive power will be realized. He says that political independence must be developed and deepened as part of the federal Soviet Union.

Vyalyas has behind his views the support of the Estonian Communist Party, as well as the support of the new Estonian Popular Front. The Estonian theses to the 19th all-union conference are clear: The Estonians wish to have the power to make decisions in matters concerning them. They have already received cautious support from General Secretary Gorbachev, but the policy of the Soviet Union toward the independence of the republics will not be determined before the party conference, which begins next Tuesday.

Vayno Vyalyas says that according to the Soviet Constitution, every republic must be totally independent in its own matters. According to the thoughts of the Estonians, mainly defense policy would remain in the hands of the federal Soviet Union.

Pressures of different kinds are now directed toward Vayno Vyalyas. The efforts to be truly independent of Moscow's authority have raised nationalistic feelings, even though these have not been encouraged intentionally. The possible use of Estonian national colors and the old Estonian flag are not supported by the other nationalities living in Estonia.

Obviously, so soon after his election, the party leader has not yet clearly specified his policy on nationalism, but he says that the different nationalities must be able to live together in peace. He does wish to stress, however, the significance of everyone in the republic knowing the Estonian language.

It is absolutely clear that the other nationalities living on the territory of Soviet Estonia must receive a part of the Estonian culture, but in Estonian. They must honor the people, and the country in which they live, party leader Vyalyas says.

Lithuanian Secretary on Conference Proposals

LD2306222688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] The main proposals of the Communists and working people of the republic addressed to the 19th all-union party conference have been published in the Lithuanian newspapers for general familiarization.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Adolfas Paulyus—identified by caption] It is known that the bureau of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the delegates to the conference have received and examined over 37,000 proposals and requests during the discussion of the Theses. It would be interesting to know what their main feature is.

[L.K. Shepetis, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet—identified by caption] All the proposals are imbued with concern for the further expansion of democracy and glasnost, the further improvement of our economy, and the strengthening of socialism. It can be said that all the inhabitants of the republic have taken part in the elaboration of this truly unique document. All the proposals, one way or another, are based somehow on the point that an integral national economic complex, the material foundation of the Soviet peoples, has taken shape in the country and is operating. This is the thought which stands out.

At the same time, the further extension of glasnost and the elimination of blank spots in our history are being proposed everywhere; as is well known, the history of

Soviet Lithuania is particularly abundant in these blank spots—both in the distant and in the contemporary history of the 20th century. A radical improvement in the teaching of history, the Lithuanian language and other languages, the Russian language, geography and so on is proposed.

The implementation of a radical economic reform, including the possibility of the introduction of regional financial autonomy on the basis of real prices, is supported.

Issues of ecology are formulated to the point. I should like to say straight out here that issues of ecology are often tied up, all the same, with a lack of understanding on the part of some all-union authorities and organs when the question of constructing huge complexes on the republic's territory is decided.

Whole sections are devoted to the development of science, education, and culture with regard for the extension of the independence of union republics in spiritual life.

There is support for the question of inserting into the Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR the Lithuanian language as a state language—it's written here [points to document on desk]—and of improving bilingualism further.

We are submitting a proposal to the Government of the Soviet Union that our country's foreign policy departments should be more insistent, active, and persistent in presenting the issue—primarily to the government of the United States and also to some other countries of the West—of the full recognition of the Soviet Baltic republics as Soviet republics, specifically. Because they have not recognized us hitherto—this, in the first place, runs counter to reality in all respects, as our people voted a long time ago, a whole half century ago, for Soviet power, and, in the second place, this somehow discriminates against us and even insults us—for this reason, we have recorded very clearly and precisely here the view that it is necessary to put a stop to this matter. In a word, all our people, the working people of the republic, are living for the conference. [end recording]

Lithuanian Proposals to Conference Published

LD2306180188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Lithuania's republican press today publishes the main proposals of Communists and working people of the republic to the 19th all-union party conference, emerging during the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses. At the microphone is our correspondent in Lithuania, Elena Kurkletite:

[Kurkletite] It is understandable that all the 37,000 proposals could not be published. In the main proposals there are sections on expanding glasnost, liquidating the blank spots in the history of Soviet society, economic and social development, and developing socialist self-government. Thus, for instance, with regard to improving intra-nationality relations, the Communists and working people of Lithuania propose drafting and adopting a law on a Soviet federation, and also to restore the economic, cultural, and political sovereignty of the union republics on the basis of Lenin's understanding of a Soviet federation.

It is also proposed to introduce into the USSR Constitution an article stating that the USSR state property comprises the state property of all the union republics. The union republics enjoy full rights to manage this property on their territory and to fulfil their overall state commitments. I offer our listeners a recording of a talk with Alfonsas Matsaytis, first secretary of the Lithuanian Leninist League of Communists Central Committee, delegate to the 19th all-union party conference:

[Begin Matsaytis recording] I am the youngest of the delegates to the 19th conference from our republican party organization and also as a delegate from from the Komsomol. I am going with high hopes that what our delegation has to say on behalf of the republic will be taken into account. My proposals as a delegate are the proposals and opinions of the Komsomol members and youth. The Fifth Plenum of the Leninist Communist Youth League of Lithuania Central Committee gave me the mandate. This was the latest meetings with our youth associations, and they made serious proposals, including my proposals, which I shall state at the conference.

Above all, today it must be stated that in our country there is no strong youth policy; it is lacking; there are only separate elements of this policy. We are trying today to adopt a law on youth and we are not satisfied with the fact that the level of party leadership is still rather low. This comes from guardianship. I remember point five in the Theses which says that the party should lead the public organizations not by instructions and resolutions but via their Communists who work today in party organizations. I think the 19th party conference must speak clearly and positively on this. [end recording]

Latvians Censure Stalin, Urge More Freedom

PM2206163188 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 11 Jun 88 p 2

[Letter adopted unanimously on 2 June 1988 by participants in a plenum of the Board of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union held in Riga 1-2 June: "To the 19th All-Union Party Conference"; footnote states that "an identical letter has also been sent to CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev"—boldface as published]

[Text] Comrade Deputies!

We, the participants in the plenum of the Board of the Latvian SSR Writers' Union—with the participation of leaders of the republic's creative unions of architects, designers, journalists, cinematographers, composers, theater workers, and artists, and experts on problems of diverse aspects of the life of the Latvian SSR—address to the 19th all-union party conference our support for the spirit, thrust, and basic provisions of the CPSU Central Committee Theses, and our support for the CPSU Central Committee's adopted course of the restructuring and renewal of Soviet society, the broadening of democracy and glasnost, and the development of national statehood within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

For us, the most topical aspect of the restructuring and democratization of society and an indispensable condition of its successful development is the return to Lenin's concept of the free union of sovereign soviet republics and the complete, unconditional repudiation of Stalin's "autonomization" plan, which was realized in practice, implemented over a period of several decades, and whose mechanism has not ceased to function to this day. Its chief manifestation is the harsh and petty centralization of all material and cultural life, the ideal of which is complete uniformity without consideration for local and national features and interests, something which ultimately harms both the individual republics and the Soviet Union as a whole, and is equally ruinous for the economy and for culture.

Following the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee efforts have been made to change the situation radically, but as yet the results are not only far from attaining their goal but are also not proportional to the energy expended.

We believe that in their exposition of the national question and the ways of resolving it the significance of national relations and problems are still underestimated in the CPSU Central Committee Theses, the mass media, and the speeches by state leaders. We draw your attention to the particular circumstance that such important, constitutional concepts as the republics' sovereignty and statehood, and also the question of a Constitution of the union republics find no reflection in the Theses. The replacement of the concepts with vague definitions arouses the alarm of Latvians and of other peoples of the USSR.

In this connection we deem it essential in the political sphere, given the full unity of the country's foreign and defense policies—a unity which must be guaranteed by the CPSU—to ensure the effective sovereignty of the republics in respect of their natural and social resources, whose utilization is permissible only with a republic's consent and on terms agreed with it. At the republic level this would represent "the restoration in full measure of the role and authority of the soviets of people's deputies as fully empowered organs of people's representation" proclaimed in the Theses.

The USSR Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities must be the coordinator of the Soviet peoples' national interests and the guarantor of the sovereign rights of the national state formations of the USSR's peoples.

In our opinion there could be great political significance in proclaiming the language of the indigenous nationality to be the state language of the republic. This would become the legal basis for obligatory bilingualism in the national republics in all social institutes (state employees, health and service sphere workers, and others), which would in fact guarantee the lawful right of each inhabitant of indigenous nationality in his or her own republic to use the native tongue in contacts with any social institute and its representatives.

It is advisable to amplify the points of the Constitution (Article 33) concerning citizenship of the union republics by delineating citizens' rights and duties in relation to the USSR as a whole and in relation to the union republic.

Inasmuch as for the first time in its centuries-long history the Latvian people are, tragically, becoming a national minority on their own territory, it should be one of the priority **political** tasks of the Latvian Communist Party and the republic's government to acknowledge the task of the preservation and development of the Latvian people, their language and culture, and their historically formed material, moral, and spiritual values. A further decline in the proportion of the indigenous nationality should be regarded as an infringement of the rights of its national statehood and of the cultural-political prestige of the USSR as a whole.

We believe that the Government of the USSR must pursue an active policy and diplomacy designed to ensure that the republic's status would in fact permit the world community to recognize Latvia as a sovereign national state in the federation of Soviet republics and that, as a result, Latvia would be accepted as a member of the United Nations and UNESCO, of the Olympic committee, and of other international organizations.

At the same time, in each republic the representatives of nonindigenous nationalities should be granted the opportunity to set up their own national cultural societies and to teach their children their own language, national history, and culture.

In the economic sphere, a healthy foundation for interethnic relations can be provided by preparing and carrying out in the next 5-year plan the transfer to full regional (republic) financial autonomy [khozraschet] and self-financing. An indispensable condition of this is the prior reform of the price-formation system in line with the law of value and the introduction of economically justified payment for natural resources, land in particular. In this way each republic's real contribution to the country's national income will become evident, each republic's responsibility to the others for the overall results of economic activity will be heightened, and the grounds for narrow-minded conjectures of the "who feeds whom" type will disappear. A republic's budget will not be allocated to it from the union budget but will be earned by the republic itself. The union budget will be formed from deductions from the republics' revenues in accordance with normatives formulated jointly for a specified period.

The diktat imposed by the all-union ministries and departments on soviet power at the given stage of the USSR's development has become a serious obstacle to the national republics' economic and sociocultural development. New, improved forms of combining social and regional interests should be sought, along with mechanisms for coordinating the republics' plans with all-union plans; the soviets' real power in the localities should be restored.

It is essential to establish the legislative prerequisites for the abolition of the essentially unlimited power of the all-union ministries and departments in running the economic life of the union republics (the Latvian SSR in particular); to broaden the rights and opportunities for the republics' harmonious development in order to create a real interest on the part of the republics' working people in the results of their own activity; and to resolve painful issues. Decisive measures considered at state level are needed to halt uncontrolled migration and the harmful effects on the demographic, cultural, and housing situation in the Latvian SSR conditioned by this migration. In many respects this situation should be deemed critical.

Up to now the Latvian SSR has been perceived as a territory on which it is advantageous to site efficient production capacities without consideration for the area's ecological features and cultural-historical type. The concept of the postwar development of industry in the republic was based on unilateral economic calculations which facilitated the unrestricted development of extensive technology and the moral and technical vulgarization of the industrial commodities being produced. The departmental egoism to which the republic's government has been unable to deliver a sufficiently effective rebuff has so exacerbated the ecological situation in Riga, Ventspils, Olayne, and Yurmala, and also in the Liyelupe, Daugava, and Gauya river basins, that it threatens to become catastrophic. The lack of purification installations in Riga has harmed the Gulf of Riga to an extent which it will be difficult to counteract.

The policy being pursued has also inflicted, and continues to inflict, irreparable losses on Latvia's cultural development, on the social sphere of our life. Management by the "residual principle" has brought about a situation whereby the construction and maintenance of the republic's cultural facilities are completely unsatisfactory. All this arouses the profound concern of the republic's population.

The resolution of issues of the republics' **sociocultural development** within the confines of the budgets earned by them must become their sovereign right and exclusively internal affair.

In the educational sphere we deem it essential not to implant by directive the mechanical amalgamation of pupils in two-stream schools without prior sociopsychological investigation of their experience. In Latvia we ought to organize colleges of marine fishing and militia colleges giving instruction in the Latvian language, thus guaranteeing local cadres for the republic.

There should be determined development of the union republics' direct bilateral and multilateral economic and cultural ties on a businesslike and permanent basis. Right now they are frequently of an episodic, ceremonial, or also purely formal nature. An important role in the development of cultural ties could be played by the establishment of a Central Television channel for the union republics, placed at the disposal of a council of republic representatives.

The successful development of national culture in modern conditions demands the radical broadening of the rights and capabilities of the republics and their foreign ministries in the field of international contacts in the cultural, scientific, and education spheres and information exchange.

Another range of issues. Taking into account the tragic consequences of the Stalin personality cult for all peoples of the USSR, and for the Latvian people and Latvian Communists included, we deem it essential for the party conference to give an unambiguous, uncompromising assessment of Stalin's repressions as a crime against humanity, the Soviet people, and the Communist Party; and for legal guarantees to be formulated in respect of the irreversibility of restructuring and the impossibility of a return to the tyranny of the personality cult epoch, to the willful bureaucratic methods of the Brezhnev epoch, which also inflicted damage on the economy, morality, and culture of our country which it is difficult to remedy.

We appeal for the abrogation of the 14 May 1941 and 29 January 1949 resolutions of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee and the USSR Council of People's Commissars on the administrative exile of certain groups of the population from the territories of the Soviet Baltic republics, west Belorussia, and west Ukraine, resolutions which served as the basis for far-reaching mass repressions and entailed numerous innocent victims. It is essential, together with this, to effect the rehabilitation of all the innocent victims of Stalinism and to perpetuate their memory.

We consider it advisable for the all-union party conference to take the decision to publish in the open press N.S. Khrushchev's report on the personality cult and its consequences delivered at a closed session of the 20th CPSU Congress (1956).

The rehabilitation of the undeservedly repressed victims of Stalinist policy organically includes public censure of the specific perpetrators and implementers of the repressions. These people should be deprived of their social privileges, honorary titles, and the right to be perpetuated in the names of cities, streets, educational establishments, and so forth.

We deem it essential to effect a decisive renewal of the party, state, and economic apparatus via the enlistment of the best officials on the basis of their competence, political experience, conformity to high moral criteria, integrity, and capacity for productive activity; and on the basis of regular replaceability and competitive appointments [provedeniye konkursov], with the abandonment of many nomenklatura-determined directives. It is necessary to intensify the influx of representatives of the young generation not only because a substantial section of leaders has become accustomed to the old way of thinking and is capable of joining in the restructuring process in words only but also in order to ensure the continuity of the restructuring policy. As a counterweight to the bureaucracy it is essential to strengthen the positions of the creative individual in the system of society's moral and political values.

We deem inadmissible and incompatible with the principles of glasnost that area of the local bureaucracy's ideological activity which endeavors to pass off the social and national discontent of broad social strata as resulting exclusively from foreign propaganda or as seeking the restoration of capitalism (the bourgeois republic), and fails to acknowledge economic, demographic, and ecological deformations as the basic cause of social and national discontent—not to mention the elimination of these deformations.

There are in the country and the republic forces which are depicting the exacerbation of national and social problems as a result of the restructuring policy, and which are attempting to exploit these problems in order to discredit restructuring and provoke a political reaction.

It is essential to restore and substantially enhance mutual trust between society and the representatives of power—substantially to enhance glasnost and the provision of information for the population, to publish stenographic records of soviet sessions and party plenum meetings, to formulate new laws on the press and glasnost, on radio and television, which would enshrine and develop the process now under way of the Soviet people's increased activeness in social and civic affairs. It is necessary to remove the obstacles to citizens' familiarization with archive materials with a view to the truthful interpretation of the history of our country and our own republic.

In the resolution of all strategically important tasks of restructuring the party can count on the full support of Soviet Latvia's creative intelligentsia, which is conscious of its duty and responsibility to its own people and to all of Soviet society.

We are convinced that the 19th all-union party conference will be an important stage in the development of a genuinely socialist society founded on the equality and friendship of the peoples and the humanism and all-around democratization of society, and that its results will also facilitate the solution of Soviet Latvia's outstanding problems which demand immediate action to overcome the critical situation which has evolved.

Letter adopted unanimously by the plenum participants 2 June 1988 in Riga.

An identical letter has also been sent to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

19th Party Conference Press Center Opens 23 Jun

Sklyarov: 'No Foreign Guests'

LD2306115888 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—A press centre of the 19th all-union party conference has begun to function here. The first news conference held at the press centre today dealt with a procedure for the holding of the conference which begins in Moscow on June 28 as well as with matters concerning its media coverage.

Yuriy Sklyarov, head of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee, said applications for accreditation had come in as of today from more than 400 media representatives: 80 from socialist countries, and the rest from Western and developing ones. Moreover, the conference's work would be followed by more than 450 correspondents who are permanently accredited in Moscow. All in all mass media of more than 75 countries would be represented here.

Yuriy Sklyarov's opinion is that the interest of the international public in the party conference is called forth not by simple curiosity but by a deep desire to get to learn more of what is taking place in the Soviet Union in connection with political and socio-economic transformations in the country.

He said briefings and press conferences with the participation of prominent party functionaries, experts and delegates to the conference would be held at the press centre from today. Journalists would have an opportunity to receive information on the course of the conference and discussions at it at the close of each day of the work of the forum.

The correspondents have at their disposal teleprinting, telexing, and facsimile communications services. The opening and closing sessions of the party conference will be broadcast on the Central Television network of the USSR and through Intervision channels. The press centre will also circulate official materials of the party conference and various reports which would come in here through TASS channels.

In answer to questions, Yuriy Sklyarov said that, unlike the practice of the holding of CPSU congresses, there would be no foreign guests at the 19th all-union party conference. Touching upon questions concerning an agenda of the conference, he recalled that the CPSU Rules provided for the convocation of a party conference to consider important issues concerning the party and state life. The conference would focus its attention on the course of the implementation of the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, on the results of the first half of the 12th Five-Year Plan period, on the tasks of deepening the restructuring process as well as on measures for further democratisation of the life of the party and society. The CPSU Central Committee instructed Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to speak on these matters.

Duration of the conference has not been yet determined. "This is for the delegates to the conference to decide," Yuriy Sklyarov said. "Its duration will be determined depending on the course of discussions and fullness of evaluation of opinions represented at the conference."

The head of the CPSU Central Committee department said hundreds of thousands of proposals connected with an improvement of the state of affairs in the economy, in the political and cultural life of the USSR, and recommendations on how to refine the inner party work of the CPSU have been flowing to the Central Committee these days. For example, in Moscow's Sverdlov district, there had been 1,300 party and work-collective meetings at which more than 6,500 proposals addressed to the party conference had been put forward. In a systematised and generalised form these would find reflection in the conference's decisions which, like those of the CPSU congresses, are of binding nature.

Touching upon the question of the steering body of the party conference, Yuriy Sklyarov said that, just as is the case at CPSU congresses, a Presidium will be set up. It will be elected by the delegates at the first session. Requests for the floor will be made in to the Presidium and the latter will give the floor to speakers in sequence.

TV, Radio Coverage Outlined

LD2306143188 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—The 19th Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is to further glasnost, or greater openness, and broaden democracy. The coverage of the Communist forum opening in Moscow on June 28 should be fair and open. Soviet Television and Radio will enable millions of people to follow this major social and political event in the life of the nation.

Central Television, Intervision and satellite communications channels will show the opening and closing of the party forum live to dozens of countries.

Special editions of the Vremya (Time) news programme, daily morning and afternoon information bulletins will provide detailed information on each day of the conference.

Asked by correspondxents at the press centre for the party conference here today why there was no provision for the showing of the entire course of the conference, Yuriy Sklyarov, head of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out that this subject had been raised on several occasions.

The views were divided on this question, he said. "We count on utmost responsibility and uncompromising attitude of the delegates, while live transmission might inhibit many speakers. At the same time, there are no grounds to believe that any part of important information would escape public attention."

Television cameras installed in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses will bring home to viewers the content and spirit of the debates to be held at the conference.

The "daybook" of the forum,, to contain statements by the delegates, will be formed directly in the Kremlin and then transmitted to television screens at home.

Newscasters will focus attention not only on the Kremlin chronicle. They will familiarise viewers with response from Communists in local party organisations and reaction of Soviet and foreign public to the course of the conference.

The party forum will make up the chief subject of all news programmes, including "120 Minutes", "View", "I Ask for the Floor." They will become a rostrum from which viewers will hear interviews with participants in the conference, exchange and compare views on the course of the forum. A documentary to be made by the television group "Ekran" will sum up the day-to-day work.

Radio will conduct live shows, too. The first programme will start before the opening of the conference. On June 25, delegates will talk about problems of perestroyka, or restructuring, that concern them, about topics they would like to discuss at the party forum. most of radio programmes about the conference, a total of five hours a day, will be in the form of free debate.

Amending Constitution Discussed

LD2306230188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jun (TASS)—The coming 19th all-union party conference will consolidate the irreversibility of restructuring and will examine the urgent question of the process of further democratization of Soviet society, IZVESTIYA editor-in-chief Ivan Laptev said.

He spoke today at the press center of the 19th all-union party conference at a meeting with the newsmen on the theme: "Democratization of the party and society is the key link of restructuring."

In Laptev's view the party conference will perfect the political system of the USSR by making room for democratization and glasnost and for strengthening of the legal system. Answering the question regarding the opposition to the processes of restructuring, he said that "there is no organized opposition to restructuring, but there are individual people, private opinions and views." According to Ivan Laptev, the greatest opposition to restructuring is formed by certain habits, traditions, and mechanism of interrelations between individual and administration which developed in the years of stagnation.

One of the cardinal directions of democratization is the improvement of interrelations between the state apparatus and the representative bodies in favour of the latter, Vladimir Kudryavtsev, director of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences said. "It is necessary to subordinate the administrative apparatus to the representative bodies and to the people," he stressed.

Concerning the possibility of changing some provisions of the USSR Constitution, Vladimir Kudryavtsev reported that as yet theoretical arguments are being conducted on this matter. "I think that it is expedient to begin with the alteration of legislative acts and the introduction of new ones, for instance, in the field of the defense and protection of human rights and the division of the functions of party and soviet bodies. After a fairly large number of such legislative innovations have accumulated, it will be possible to talk about making amendments to the Constitution, the country's basic law," Kudryavtsev said.

Smirnov on Soviets' Role

LD2306212488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Special correspondent Marina Novitskaya report from the 19th all-union party conference press center; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text]The press center started work today. Even now it is clear that our public and the world are greatly interested in the forthcoming party conference. The leader of the press center is Yuriy Aleksandrovich Sklyarov, head of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department. He said that journalists from 77 countries have so far expressed their wish to be accredited to the press center of the 19th party conference. They have been offered the opportunity to obtain a great deal of information even before the conference started, about our life and the issues to be discussed, and to hear the views of party and state leaders, scientists, economic managers, diplomats, and military and cultural officials. Journalists will, of course, be interested to meet delegates at the conference. They will be given this opportunity, too. The topic of the press conference held today is: The democratisation of the party and society is a key stage of restructuring. Its participants were literally showered with questions. Interest was expressed on many aspects—the party, state and public life of our country—which are to be discussed at the party conference. This dialogue lasted over an hour and a half. You will now be able to hear parts of it. Many journalists, for example, touched on issues concerning the refinement of the system.

This is what academician Georgiy Lukich Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism and Leninism, said about this.

"[Smirnov] The fact that we say all power to the soviets does not at all mean that we are in fact trying to change our political system in this country. It means that the soviets are taking on full responsibility for tackling not only economic and social issues but also political issues. This surely does not mean that the party is abandoning its political and ideological functions. They are also going to change. In other words, the balance of power will change.

"What course will the events take? I think the course they will take is this. Many formal and informal organizations reflect even now the enormous range and variety of interests in this country. We are quite able...why do you think that we are under an absolute obligation to take up your traditional way, existing in your countries, the way of setting up a system of many political parties? Our development is unique to us. Our course may be that the interests of various social groups, professions, layers, and so on will be expressed by some other means. And we have already taken this course."

How does IZVESTIYA intend to cover the proceedings of the 19th party conference? This question was naturally put to editor in chief Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev:

"[Laptev] I want to tell you that we intend to publish all the speeches that will be made at the conference. We will ask the speaker himself to endorse his speech so that no one would be able to accuse us of misediting him in some way."

I would like to add that the first and the concluding sessions of the 19th party conference are scheduled to be relayed on television, radio, and intervision. Radio and television programs will also broadcast special diaries about the proceedings of the party conference. Would you now listen to how Ivan Dmitriyevich Laptev answers the following question: What in his view was the main thing in the discussions of the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee that have been published in IZVESTIYA?

"[Laptev] If we raise the slogan all power to the soviets we must give a reply about how prepared we are to cope with this power, to manage this power in order, as they say, to be up to dealing with the new situation. Therefore, we reviewed very actively and consistently all aspects of the work of the soviets, the problems of the elective principle, the problems of the interaction between the apparatus and the soviet, the problems of the interaction between the soviets and various departments, ministries, party committees, and so on. What has changed? Surely, it is clear even to the unaided eye the extent to which the atmosphere in society has changed even in this short period of the discussion of the Theses, to what extent the level of people's activity has changed, to what extent our newspapers have changed even in the recent short time. Therefore, I would say quite significant changes have taken place in the social consciousness, in public opinion and in the way people feel about themselves in society."

The theme of democratization was developed by other participants in the press conference. Here is Dzhumber Ilich Patiashvili, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, and Academician Smirnov:

"[Patiashvili] On the subject of multimandate elections, I would like to say that last year we conducted an experiment in two rayons, which I would like to compare, with elections to local soviets and to party organizations. The comrades who were not successful were very offended because this was the first time it had happened in our life. And the leaders who were not successful—and in the main it was the deputy chairman of the rayispolkom and the secretary of the rayispolkom who were not elected, were very disappointed and said: Democracy has begun operating against us. That is, they protested to a certain extent. but the multi-mandate elections showed much that was good and gave us a lesson and, of course, we shall be improving the elective principle to a certain extent with regard to party organizations and party bodies. to date we have simply had no precedent for this.

"[Smirnov] Precisely on this subject, the Theses quite clearly talk about the nominating of several candidates for one seat as one of the new features of party democracy. You probably long ago registered the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev promoted the idea of competition between political leaders for leadership as an element of party and state democracy. This is already being put into practice. We are seeking ways for the people to influence the composition of our organs of power."

The following question was asked. Listen to it:

"[Unidentified speaker] Let me put a question to Comrade Patiashvili. After Comrade Gorbachev's report in November, I visited the museum in Gori and I was amazed. Then I discussed it with some of my colleagues from the socialist countries. It is a museum to the cult of Stalin. My question is this: Does the Georgian party organization have a different interpretation of Stalinism and of Stalin's personality cult?

"[Patiashvili] There can be no different interpretation, because the problem of Stalin is not a Georgian problem in the first place. It was in November that you visited the museum you mention. Naturally, you were not the only one to have complaints against this museum. We had complaints, too. And the exhibition has not been absolutely altered in the spirit of Mikhail Sergeyevich's report and the material which has appeared recently is reflected in the museum in the town of Gori. So, our party organization's attitude is exactly the same; there can be no different one."

Yuriy Aleksandrovich Sklyarov, head of the press center, answered a question put by a Spanish journalist:

"[Sklyarov] One of the last questions was: Has there recently been a drop in the number of young Communists and those wishing to join the party? No, there is no drop. Entries into the ranks of the party are continuing in all party organizations."

In conclusion, I would like to inform you that the next meeting in the press center of the 19th party conference is planned for tomorrow. It will be on the theme of economic reform.

Conference Duration Undetermined

PM2306143788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Jun 88 p 2

[TASS correspondents A. Alekhin and V. Shishlin report: "Press Center Starts Work"]

[Text] The forthcoming all-union party conference is generating enormous interest from the Soviet and world public and the mass media. Evidence of this was provided by the 23 June opening in Moscow of the press center for the conference. It will allow more than 1,400 Soviet and foreign journalists to obtain diverse and competent information before the party forum opens.

In the words of Yu.A. Sklyarov, leader of the press center and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department, who familiarized these correspondents with the press center's work program, it plans meetings with prominent Soviet party and state figures, military leaders, and representatives of science and culture. Meetings with delegates will be organized.

The leader of the press center stressed the truly nationwide nature of the preparations for the party conference, which is attested by the enormous number of proposals received by party organs and the mass media relating to the CPSU Central Committee Theses. For instance, 1,300 meetings have been held in Moscow's Sverdlovskiy Rayon alone, at which 6,500 specific recommendations were put forward. The CPSU Central Committee is currently doing a considerable amount of work to systematize and generalize the proposals.

Answering journalists' questions about the possibility of the fullest coverage of the party conference's work, Yu.A. Sklyarov reported that live broadcasts of its first and closing sessions are planned on Soviet Television and Intervision. During the conference millions of viewers will be able to learn about the progress and nature of the discussions from special diary programs on the 19th all-union party conference, and the central newspapers will publish the texts of delegate speeches.

Many correspondents inquired about how long the forum of Soviet Communists would last. It is hard to define a timetable with complete confidence before the conference, the chief of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department said. That is a job for the delegates themselves. He also noted that the practice of holding sessions exclusively comprising delegates has long been used, and not only by Communist parties. The fact that certain sessions at the forthcoming conference will be held in just such a way attests to the desire for the utmost sincerity, fullness, and professionalism in discussions.

NOVOSTI's Shakhova on Election Democracy
AU2206204388 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Yelena Shakhova from the NOVOSTI Press Service: "More Democracy"]

[Text] Speaking to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum held in June 1987 on the occasion of the forthcoming All-Union CPSU Conference, M.S. Gorbachev described the present-day tasks in the following manner: Intensification of restructuring and further democratization in social and party life.

One year later it has become evident that these tasks pertain to the fundamental problems which the party is coping with. However, the developments of this year also showed that changes are required in the approach to the solution of these questions.

Thus, for example, we are confronted with resistance to restructuring: This resistance may be conscious, or unconscious, but it is always concealed, and therefore difficult to overcome. This issue involves millions of people.

How can we transform the consciousness of the masses, how can we win their support and interest in favor of restructuring? We presume this will be one of the main issues discussed at the party conference. I share the opinions of those scholars and journalists who, in citing Lenin, are talking about the necessity of a great upsurge in cultural standards. This includes, perhaps above all, the cultural standards of democracy.

What about the question of expanding democracy at the present stage? Let us take the election of delegates to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference as an example.

A decree of the CPSU Central Committee issued on 26 July 1987 determined the system of electing candidates for delegates to the party conference in the following order—namely, that one delegate is to be nominated for every 3,780 party members. In May 1988 M.S. Gorbachev stressed that ardent supporters of restructuring and active Communists should be elected as delegates, instead of set numbers of candidates nominated from above (so many workers, so many farmers, so many women, and so many youths). The CPSU Central Committee approved the idea that the election of candidates should by all means involve the participation of Communists, party committees, and labor collectives, in other words, it should be a nationwide event.

However, it seems that a majority of ordinary citizens, and not the party functionaries, responded to this appeal. "Set numbers" of candidates were still nominated from above. Thus, for example, the nomination of a sports complex manager was forced upon the party organization of cultural and press workers in one Moscow rayon. The confusion was soon cleared up: The totally unknown sports leader was replaced by a journalist who is an active champion of restructuring.

Nevertheless, such a prompt settlement of controversial questions was not achieved in all places. A group of Moscovites collected signatures in the streets of the city in support of the nomination of three people who had not received a sufficient number of votes in their respective rayons. The citizens appealed for support to nominate of Kiril Afanasiyev, rector of the Historical Archives Institute, who is well-known for his publications on the re-assessment of Soviet history; of Vitaliy Korotich, editor in chief of the popular weekly OGONEK; and of Yuriy Karayakin, a journalist and writer who is boldly unmasking the enemies of restructuring.

Shortly after this event, the Moscow City CPSU Committee held a plenum at which Afanasiyev was elected delegate to the party conference and at which it was announced that Korotich has already been elected as a delegate. The announcement was made on television that Yuriy Karyakin had cast his vote in favor of Grigoriy Baklanov, chief editor of the literary-artistic journal ZNAMYA, who is well-known for his civil courage.

This is how the citizens initiative ended, an initiative which was called "unusual" by the Moscow CPSU organization. This is an event that totally fits into the framework of the concepts for the further democratization of party and social life. Nevertheless, people in the

Soviet Union have not yet gotten used to the fact that rallies and demonstrations can be held without "instructions" from above, and that they can publicly express opinions differing from the official stand.

However, let us ask, why did the Moscow citizens and all Soviet people engage in the election procedure with so much enthusiasm, while elections in the past did not evoke any emotions?! Let us recall once more: This is obviously so because the question of the democratization of Soviet society will be the most important, fundamental issue discussed at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Editor Yakovlev on Perestroyka, Conference

LD2406102688 Moscow in English tc North America 2300 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Passages in quotation marks recorded; Yakovlev speaks in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Under the one-party system existing in the Soviet Union the country's democratization can be carried out only if serious changes are brought about within the party itself. This is the opinion that the editor-in-chief of the popular weekly MOSCOW NEWS expressed in front of a group of journalists on 22 June.

Yegor Yakovlev heads the weekly that many here call the front-runner of glasnost in the Soviet press. He was elected delegate to the national party conference opening in Moscow on 28 June. The conference is expected to discuss key issues facing the Communist Party and Soviet society. Yegor Yakovlev sees the main task of the party conference in ensuring the democratization of the party itself:

"[Yakovlev] The party should reconsider its role in the socialist state. It should stop playing the monopoly role; it should get rid of the anonymous power of the apparatus. It is the solution of these issues that will determine the lines along which perestroyka will develop further."

[Announcer] Yegor Yakovlev thinks that up to recently the democratic principles proclaimed by the Soviet Constitution have not been used to their fullest. He quoted that freedom of assembly meetings [as heard] and street processions as an example. Some time ago he said, an unauthorized demonstration of citizens took place in Leningrad in protest against a plan to tear down the old building of the former Angleterre Hotel. But that threw the authorities into confusion. The rules for holding demonstrations were worked out only recently. There were other examples as well:

"[Yakovlev] For 10 years one of the articles of the Constitution guaranteed the citizens the right to appeal in a court against an official who fails to perform his duties properly. But up to January this year there was no law that would specify how that right was to be exercised. At present legal actions have been taken by people against some 300 officials."

[Announcer] In the opinion of the editor-in-chief of the newspaper MOSCOW NEWS it is not the legislation that plays the decisive role in the development of perestroyka. He commented on the proposal put forward on the pages of the literary newspaper LITURATURNAYA GAZETA by a leader journalist Fedor Burlatskiy. He proposed that a presidential rule should be introduced in the Soviet Union with a universal and direct election. Yegor Yakovlev:

"[Yakovlev] No system can guarantee the vitality of democracy. If Stalin had announced presidential elections say in 1950 would this have saved us from his cult? I don't think so. Stalin would have been elected unanimously. The only guarantee of democracy in any society is the state of public consciousness. Over the 34 years of my staying within the party ranks there has never been such a display of openness and critical approach as there is today."

Supreme Court Chairman on Judicial Reforms

WA18000386a Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 17, 27 Apr 88 p 11

[Interview with V.I. Terebilov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer Aleksandr Borin under the rubric "Morality and Law": "What We Expect From the Reform of the Courts"; date and place not given]

[Text] The Pyramid [subhead]

A. Borin: Vladimir Ivanovich, I would like to start our conversation with the so-called judicial errors. Unfortunately, this is a question not of isolated cases but of a quite widespread phenomenon. A person is arrested and spends years behind barbed wire, and then it is discovered that the person is guilty of nothing. Moreover, this is permitted not just by the investigatory organs but also by the courts, whose entire role amounts to rubber-stamping the charge brought against the individual. Of course, the easiest thing would be to explain this by the poor skills of the lawyers. But perhaps the causes are much deeper and more serious and lie in defects in the judicial system itself? Will the judicial reform for which preparations are now being made in the country eliminate them?

V. Terebilov: The causes of which you speak did not come into existence today or even yesterday. I think that in large degree they are the result of the metamorphosis that took place in our judicial system in the early thirties. If we imagine the entire judicial system as a kind of unique pyramid, then in a normal situation the apex of that pyramid should be the court whose word is decisive and final. In the early thirties, however, this pyramid was stood on its head and priority was given to the centralized and unmonitored pre-trial investigation. The main obligation of the court when hearing criminal cases was not an impartial and independent consideration of the charges made against the individual but merely deciding the scale of the punishment. Acquittal or submitting a case for a new investigation was considered an extraordinary event. A conviction was made in 99 percent of all criminal cases. It is primarily from this that not only the numerous errors of which you spoke stemmed, but also instances of direct arbitrary rule and crimes against the administration of justice. Since 1953 the situation has been largely corrected, but underestimation of the court and of judicial control are alive to this day. So that, to put it briefly, I would formulate the cardinal restructuring of the judicial system that is now beginning as follows: the "pyramid" must be returned to its normal position.

A. Borin: But obviously the unnatural position of the "pyramid" pursued a certain end, did it not? Is it not in principle much easier to dictate to the organs conducting the pre-trial investigation than to the court, because they are, so to speak, more amenable and controllable?

V. Terebilov: As a rule the courts consider cases openly and publicly, and therefore it is, of course, more difficult to influence them than the institutions in which everything is decided behind closed doors. Concentrating the pre-trial investigation and virtual judicial power in the same hands meant untying one's own hands... However, even with all the publicity of the court proceedings, pressure on the judicial organs is a phenomenon, unfortunately, not only of yesterday but even to some extent, of today. Look here. The USSR Constitution states that the courts are independent and subject only to the law. It seems to me, however, that this correct provision of the USSR Constitution should necessarily be augmented with an instruction on the actual guarantee of that independence. Well, for example, it would be useful to establish that judges be appointed for longer periods than at present, and perhaps also for life. It would be very important for the USSR Constitution to make reference to the fact that the independence of the courts is guaranteed by a special law that provides penalties for lack of respect toward the courts and for attempts to apply pressure to them.

A. Borin: To be honest, I cannot imagine how such a law would work. For pressure is applied to the courts most often not in public but in secret and in private. A telephone call, a confidential conversation in an important office, an opinion from "a high place" passed on to a judge.... Can this kind of extrajudicial act be cut short judicially?

V. Terebilov: There is some truth in your reasoning. But you are obviously underestimating the very fact of the existence of such a law, if, of course, it were to be passed. In and of itself its very existence would force many people to hesitate about how they behave toward the courts. It is one thing to foist one's opinion on a judge by talking with him or by making a telephone call, in disregard of general principles, but quite another to commit an act for which specific liability has been established.

A. Borin: Criminal liability?

V. Terebilov: Yes, even criminal.

A. Borin: And you are suggesting that some court will institute a criminal case, for example, against a raykom secretary? Is this realistic?

V. Terebilov: Not now, perhaps, but it should become realistic as the result of perestroyka. I am suggesting that further democratization in the life of our society must also affect the party apparatus. The party must play its leading role not using directive-command methods, not "by telephone," but through those Communists who occupy various posts in the economy and in the state apparatus. And, of course, the courts. These people must put into practice the party line and the party approach. And the party duty of the judge is strictly to observe the law.

A. Borin: But what if you have the law on one side of the scales and a directive, a command, "advice" from a local party leader on the other? And the judge understands very well: "First and foremost, dear comrade, you are a Communist."

V. Terebilov: Whoever permits himself something like this is a very bad Communist.

A. Borin: Yes, of course. But does it not seem to you, Vladimir Ivanovich, that it is a much easier thing for the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court than for a rank-and-file local judge to be guided by this in practice?

V. Terebilov: Undoubtedly. This is why I remind you so persistently of the need for real guarantees of judicial independence as a main condition for perestroyka in the judicature. Today, it is also sometimes not very difficult for the official party or soviet leader to achieve the recall of a bothersome, "unruly" judge. There are many examples of this. And so the problem is to protect the judge from the arbitrary rule of the local leader. How can this be done in a practical way? There are various ways. But now I am talking about just one of them. I think that the USSR Supreme Court and the supreme courts in the union republics could set up competent expert councils (or committees of appeal). If complaints are made against a judge or if his competence is called into question and a recall move is made, then it should not be the local leadership, which is sometimes prejudiced and has an interest in this, that decides whether or not the complaints are justified, but an objective and competent council.

A. Borin: As I understand it, in addition to the independence of judges there is also the issue of immunity. I read recently in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA about how militia and procuracy workers took their revenge on bothersome judges. And this is the regrettable thing: today a judge can be influenced, virtually blackmailed without violating the letter of the law. Permission from the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium is required only for laying charges against a judge but his home can be searched and he can be called in for interrogation and confronted by witnesses without any kind of permission.

V. Terebilov: That part of the law was badly formulated and it requires amendment. It does happen that some pre-trial investigators and procurators take advantage of this, and this is quite improper. It seems to me that it is necessary to lay down a special procedure that today, unfortunately, is not provided for by the law, namely, dismissal from office. If the appeals council of which we have already spoken is convinced that the complaints made against a judge are correct then the judge should be officially dismissed from office. And only then would it be possible to interrogate the dismissed judge, lay charges against him and so forth. But while the judge is in office he should enjoy immunity.

A. Borin: And how should this dismissal procedure be implemented? Behind closed doors or openly and publicly?

V. Terebilov: Publicly, I think, but its specific form, of course, must be well considered. It is important that all democratic principles be strictly observed here.

A. Borin: And perhaps the time has also come to think well not only about the procedure for dismissing a judge from office but also about his appointment to office? Is not the system for selecting judges, at least in its present form, outdated? For to be honest, it is not so much democracy as a semblance of democracy, a pro forma, perfunctory measure. Would it not be more sensible to appoint a people's judge by, say, resolution of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium?

V. Terebilov: This is probably advisable. But if this suggestion is acted upon they will say: "A conservative who is against democratic secret vote."

A. Borin: I do not think that they will say this; we have already suffered enough from democracy for show, which has very often been used as a screen behind which direct command methods flourished.

"Nevertheless I Would Let Him Go Free..." [subhead]

A. Borin: Imagine that specific guarantees of judicial immunity had been introduced into the USSR Constitution and that a law had been passed providing for penalties for lack of respect toward the courts. Would the bias toward conviction in the activity of the courts about which the newspapers today write so often disappear?

V. Terebilov: You want to ask only whether it is external causes that sometimes force a judge in a complicated situation to prefer a conviction to an acquittal. No, not that alone. Much depends on the experience of the judge and his competence, moral qualities, sense of principle, firmness of character.... It is common knowledge, for example, that any kind of doubt should be interpreted in favor of the accused. Openly, of course, no one disputes this. But the judge does sometimes think to himself: "Ah, let him go, old darling, and then he will kill someone else or steal something else, and then they will say to me: 'But you could have prevented a new crime.'" Or this: the evidence in a particular case may, of course, be not quite enough but everyone can see that the person is a potential criminal and that leaving him free is still dangerous because there might be a tragedy.... How should the judge decide? How to make his choice? What is more humane: to follow the letter of law and let the person go free or to persuade yourself that perhaps in the interests of society the letter of the law can be disregarded?

A. Borin: And how would you act as a judge?

V. Terebilov: I would let him go free. And then I would wait to see if you wrote an article saying that in a formal way I had acted correctly but that the result of this "correctness" was the perpetration of a new crime.

A. Borin: I shall not write that because I know all too well what it costs people and society when the rights of the individual are violated "just a little" supposedly in their own interests.

V. Terebilov: Of course, it is easy for me to reason thus from the height of my own life's experience and my judicial position. But stand in the shoes of a junior judge who is just starting out. How can he sustain this blow every time he faces that choice?

A. Borin: And remember what Herzen said: "It is far better that the clever thief go unpunished than that every honest man tremble like a thief in his own room."

V. Terebilov: Yes, and I totally share that view. But if tomorrow the clever thief who has been set free by a judge because of insufficient evidence robs your apartment, what do you say then? This is the profession of judge, and oh! what a difficult one....

A. Borin: Nevertheless, if there is doubt you would still interpret the law in favor of the accused and let the person go free?

V. Terebilov: Yes, I would still let him go free. It is still better to have two guilty parties escape punishment than to sentence one innocent man wrongly.

A. Borin: Vladimir Ivanovich, it seems to me that the following circumstance also hampers the normal work of the courts. A judge knows that if he makes an acquittal or returns the case for further investigation then the pre-trial investigator dealing with the case cannot expect an easy life. His failure in his work is noted and they will poke into every corner, in short, an Extraordinary Event! As a result relations between the procuracy and the court will become strained and there will be disputes and reprisals. Is this right? Of course, if the pre-trial investigator has grossly violated the law, or falsified the facts, or juggled with and distorted the facts, then this cannot be tolerated. But a different kind of situation may arise: the pre-trial investigator honestly thinks that a person is guilty and tries to prove it, but after the court has investigated the material it does not agree with the reasoning. Must every case be made into a tragedy, an extraordinary event, and the pre-trial investigator be reproached and abused?

V. Terebilov: I think that this unhealthy attitude toward acquittal was shaped precisely at the time when the investigation was everything and all that remained for the court to do was rubber-stamp its decision. And now, when the courts have started to move beyond the confines of modest role assigned to them, some pre-trial investigators and personnel of the Procurator's Office are regarding this as little short of a real insult. I think, however, that it is quite possible and proper to have cases in which the pre-trial investigator in a complicated situation passes the case on for examination by the court, while the court, after weighing things up and investigating them, decides that it does not share with the evaluation and conclusions of the investigation. There is, of course, no tragedy in this. It is the natural process of the administration of justice.

A. Borin: And what is your attitude toward trial by jury?

V. Terebilov: I think that in our times it will not be of much use.

A. Borin: Why?

V. Terebilov: Life has become more complicated, and crimes are more complicated, and the activity of the courts is more complicated. And when deciding the question of the defendant's guilt or innocence the judge must in sum be an honest man. He must also possess a broad range of knowledge and have rich experience of life and the law. A juror is not trained for this work. Incidentally, the practice of law abroad has also made significant changes in the traditional jury system. The judge most often does not remain in the courtroom but instead goes out with the jurors into the room where they deliberate. He does not vote with them but advises them and provides the necessary explanations; many cases are dealt with by a judge alone. In other words, our institution of people's assessors is better than the jury system. But we do realize that our institution is weak, if not bad.

A. Borin: You have suggested, have you not, that the number of people's assessors be increased?

V. Terebilov: Well, when considering particularly difficult cases it would be possible to have, say, four instead of two people's assessors. But not because we do not trust the judges but simply based on the fact that the more people you have and the more experience of life that is brought to bear, so to speak, the better. It will also help the judge to overcome his doubt or hesitation...

A. Borin: And what changes would you suggest in the work of the appeals and supervisory systems? For it is here that the main barrier against judicial error is to be found.

V. Terebilov: I think that the main barrier against judicial error should be placed in the court of original jurisdiction. A multitude of appellate levels is no panacea. However, I think it would be useful to give the supervisory courts greater rights than at present. Now, in order to correct a more or less serious error we must send the case back to the court of original jurisdiction, And then the entire procedure must be repeated all over again, time goes by, and people remain in custody.... I think that in the interests of justice and in people's interest it is necessary to give the supervisory court the right if necessary to correct errors made by lower courts.

A. Borin: And if necessary recall those involved in the case to court?

V. Terebilov: Yes, if necessary also call those participating in the case who are required by the court.

Remaining Free Before the Trial [subhead]

A. Borin: Unfortunately, the practice of holding a person in custody for months, and sometimes years, before his trial is quite widespread. Is this a normal situation?

V. Terebilov: It is not only abnormal but also illegal. This is just one of the birthmarks remaining from the evil memory of past years. Deprivation of freedom before the trial is permissible only in cases in which a person may be concealing a crime or may commit another crime, or in a special situation that requires special, extraordinary steps to be taken. As a rule, however, a person should remain at liberty. And how do some pre-trial investigators act? They first arrest the person and only then begin the investigation. They make the task easier for themselves in disregard of fundamental legal principles written into the USSR Constitution.

A. Borin: Perhaps legal control could break this this shameful practice?

V. Terebilov: It is the USSR Procuracy that is primarily called upon to break this shameful practice, and I am convinced that ultimately it will. Legal control? Yes, some scholars and journalists suggest that the court itself should give approval for arrest before trial. The thrust of this reasoning is perhaps correct. But I would perhaps prefer another procedure: one way to stop this could be approval by the procurator, in cases that so require it, but, for example, after 6 months, if it becomes necessary to hold someone in custody for longer, the investigation should be turned over to the court, and the court should immediately resolve the matter.

A. Borin: But still extend the time without limit?

V. Terebilov: Of course not. Another 2 or 3 months.

A. Borin: And then? The case is passed to the court, the court starts to study it, and probably not immediately, for it is common knowledge that the load on the courts is great, and the person remains in prison as before? Because formally the time periods are not being violated and the arrested person is now not on the procurator's list but the court list; but what is the difference to the person arrested? Prison is still prison.

V. Terebilov: There is a 2-month period during which the courts are obliged to examine the cases brought before them. But you are right, these time periods are sometimes not observed. Demand that the courts always and in all circumstances deal with cases within 2 months? And will there not be harmful haste in the complicated cases, and even more judicial errors? One highly placed jurist in Ireland told me that under Irish law he may invoke as follows: "I shall consider the case in 6 months. I must think about it, and read the law and the special literature."

A. Borin: Does this mean there is no solution? The arrested person must wait in a prison cell until his judge is "ready"?

V. Terebilov: This is the solution: Confine ourselves to the time established by law and—the main thing—place people under arrest less before the trial. And, incidentally, if, as we have already said, the court hands down a decision about whether or not the period of initial arrest can be extended, then there will be fewer arrested people numbered on the court list.

A. Borin: Oh! I fear, Vladimir Ivanovich, that the courts will be too diffident in exercising this right. I say this because I see how modestly and unwillingly judges alter preventive restriction when they direct cases for further investigation. What happens is that as a rule they do not alter it at all.

V. Terebilov: And have you considered why this happens?

A. Borin: Is it that they do not want to upset relations with the procuracy?

V. Terebilov: This is also my assumption. But if you say this to judges, then many of them respond as follows: "What, then, are you accusing us of cowardice? But on what grounds?" And in fact, the courts are very often directly deprived of any opportunity to alter preventive restriction. A person is accused of five murders. Two of them are unproven and further investigation is necessary. So now how do you deal with it? Are you going to set a murderer at liberty? Or a defendant is accused of stealing R100,000. A second expert opinion is required. In expectation that he will be acquitted? And what if he goes into hiding? All the same, it would probably be useful when returning a case for further investigation for the court to determine a specific period in which the accused can still be held in custody.

A. Borin: Is there any chance that this kind of procedure will be adopted?

V. Terebilov: I fear that our two votes will not be sufficient. Some pre-trial investigators will probably give it a hostile reception. And I can understand them: The main burden of the struggle against crime right there where it happens is placed on their shoulders.

A. Borin: But not by violating constitutional principles?

V. Terebilov: No, not that way.

A. Borin: Now I would like to talk a little about punishment for criminal acts. Here too, many problems have accrued that require a solution.

V. Terebilov: Undoubtedly. But I think that this subject is large enough and complicated enough to require a special conversation. I shall therefore restrict myself to some brief comments. First, it seems to me that it would advisable for the new criminal laws to make provision only for the upper limit of punishment while the lower limits should be at the discretion of the court. Then the courts would be able to impose sentences giving more consideration to the personality of the convicted individual and the circumstances of the case. I also suggest that the court should determine the conditions of punishment for the convicted person only for the first 6 months or a year. Subsequently special commissions could operate at the place of confinement, made up of representatives of the local soviet, administration, and Procurator's Office, and physicians and psychologists and so forth. Proceeding from specific data they—the commissions—should also make decisions on whether or not the convicted person should remain under the conditions of imprisonment imposed or whether it would be advisable to give him some kind of privileges or a greater degree of freedom. And finally, the conditions where the punishment is being served must be more varied and differentiated. Some people understand only harshness and drastic measures, while others, on the contrary, are crushed by excessive harshness. Individualization of punishment is one of the main approaches in re-education of the convicted person. I want to emphasize that over the past 2 or 3 years the courts have used imprisonment almost 50 percent less. This is the right trend. The only thing is that we must track this carefully to insure that it does not engender a flare-up of recidivist crime.

Constitutional Oversight [subhead]

A. Borin: Up to now our conversation has been about solving the problems that one way or another have accured in judicial practice. However, perestroyka in the legal system is obviously also expanding the very sphere of judicial activity. Suggestions have already appeared in the press that the courts should be afforded the right of constitutional oversight. How do you regard this and what in your opinion should this kind of oversight be?

V. Terebilov: I suggest that in a socialist state that accepts the rule of law it would be useful to give the courts certain functions of constitutional oversight. Well, for example, suppose that when considering a specific case the court finds that a person is guilty essentially not of a violation of the law but a violation of some enforceable enactment (a ministry order, instruction or provision) that in and of itself is illegal because it is at variance with the USSR Constitution or other fundamental legislation. The court acquits that person but it cannot declare the enactment illegal, that is, eliminate the initial cause of such cases. Today it does not have that right. I would suggest that it is necessary to give this right to the USSR Supreme Court and the supreme courts of the union and autonomous republics and kray and oblast courts.

A. Borin: But cannot the procurator today protest an illegal enactment?

V. Terebilov: Yes he can. But what if the ministry or department does not agree with the procurator's protest? The law offers no clear-cut answer to this question. True, the procurator was recently given the right to halt the operation of certain illegal enactments. But what next? The measure is half-and-half and inadequate. I suggest that when an enactment is deemed to be unlawful the procurator should go to the court, and if the representation is found to be justified, a resolution be passed recognizing that the enactment is contrary to the law.

A. Borin: Only the procurator can go to the court?

V. Terebilov: No. This right would be given to the all-union and republic organs of power and management, and to ministries and departments and major public organizations like the AUCCTU, the Committee of Soviet Women, the Union of Writers and so forth.

A. Borin: And what of the upper level of enforceable enactments against which appeals can be made? Suppose an unlawful decree were to be adopted by the USSR Government itself. Can you consider this theoretically?

V. Terebilov: I have been considering this theoretically for a long time. And in practical terms today, in the age of perestroyka, this is what I think: If we have a government that accepts the rule of law then probably the USSR Supreme Court can and must be given the right in certain circumstances to evaluate the legality of government decrees also.

A. Borin: Suppose a dispute arose between union republics. Could the USSR Supreme Court consider the case?

V. Terebilov: I think yes. If it were of a legal rather than a political character.

A. Borin: Vladimir Ivanovich, a law was recently passed on appealing illegal acts by officials through the court. It seems to me that this law went through in a truncated form. Most administrative decisions are made by collegial organs, and here already the citizen is deprived of the right to appeal to the court. Is this correct?

V. Terebilov: I am a judge and should therefore uphold the law and not criticize it. But if you talk about possible improvements in that law then I suggest that it would be possible to extend the court's jurisdiction with a right also to consider cases concerning irregularities in certain collegial decisions.

A. Borin: We have always said, and we still do, that under the conditions of a socialist society the theory of "division of power"—legislative, executive and judicial—is unacceptable. But how can socialist democracy ignore the best democratic institutions established by humankind over the centuries?

V. Terebilov: This issue really does exist and I think that it should be worked on and resolved. It seems to me that we cannot blindly transfer into our lives the attributes of a bourgeois society. The USSR Constitution clearly states that the CPSU is the leading and directing force in Soviet society, the nucleus of its political system. So we can talk about structure: the legislative, executive and judicial organs carry out their own strictly defined, specific functions without replacing one another, and the party exercises political coordination of all these forms of power. Let me put it another way: Political tasks are common for the whole of society and it is the party that works them out. However, each of the "powers" resolves them within the limits and the framework of its own competence. And if the country's highest judicial organ has adopted a decision appropriate to its competence then it is final and neither the legislative nor the executive powers can revoke it. This position would be in line with the principles of a state accepting the rule of law and, consequently, the development of socialist democracy. And in general I would also consider it necessary to state the following: More socialism means more legal guarantees protecting socialism and providing guarantees for the life activity of all forms of socialist democracy.

A. Borin: There is still another series of burning and topical issues. For example, the trials of the thirties through the fifties, certain matters relating to our own times, the first results of perestroyka in legal work and so forth. I hope that I may have the opportunity to pose those questions for you.

V. Terebilov: Well, willingly. If the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editorial office will offer us some of its precious space we may continue our dialogue. Notwithstanding, I think that these problems will also be a subject of discussion at the 19th party conference.

Sociologists Ponder Ways To Combat Bureaucracy

Strength Explained

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18 May 88 p 3

[Article by L. Ponomarev, doctor of historical sciences, and V. Shinkarenko, candidate of philosophical sciences: "In What Way Is the Bureaucrat Strong?: New Phase of an Old Illness: the Reasons, the Signs, the Diffusion"—boldface as published]

[Text] We cannot but respond to R. Sagdeyev's article "Where We Have Lost the Tempo" (IZVESTIYA, No 119, 1988). The academician is absolutely right when he links stagnation in our science with the omnipotence of bureaucratism. But has there not been stagnation in other spheres of social life for the same reason? Bureaucratic averaging and leveling have crippled not only science. They also preclude the possibility of real creativity in economics, politics, and culture. Bureaucracy everywhere is trying to become self-sufficient, and therein lies the greatest danger to our entire society. This is the principal danger that stalks perestroyka which has begun in our country.

Beyond a doubt, the masses are aware of this danger. It is not by chance that public attention today is focused on the struggle against bureaucratism, formalism, and other negative phenomena. This is indicated by 54.7 percent of the workers and 48.3 percent of the managers among the 11,000 people who were polled twice—in 1986 and 1988—by sociologists of the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. The poll was conducted in 15 regions of the nation. Materials in 1100 oblast, city, rayon, and factory newspapers were analyzed and thousands of documents and oral statements were studied. Thus the conclusion seems to us to be beyond question.

But bureaucratism may possibly be the most difficult of all the problems that must be overcome in the course of perestroyka. Indeed, Soviet power has been fighting it for more than 70 years. The fight has not ceased in a single stage of the nation's development. What has been the result? Bureaucratism, that most malicious enemy of socialism, has nevertheless penetrated every pore of our society.

Bureaucratism has, in addition to everything else, prepared for us a very serious obstacle that is occasionally personified by very highly placed persons who have become one with the criminal world. It can be said that we have our own home-grown mafia. It is very powerful. It has vast material and human resources. It has the most extensive connections both inside the nation and abroad. In Central Asia, Transcaucasia, and Moldavia, entire strata of organized crime have been discovered operating under the cover of the bureaucratic apparatus.

Jurists emphasize the unusually sharp, even desperate character of the struggle against crime fostered by the bureaucrats. They note that as a rule there are three "fronts" in operation here. The first combines the local forces; the second—the forces from the Center; and the third—the very "fathers of law and order": the militia, the procuracy, and the courts apply the brakes to the work here. More than half of the jurists polled today do not acquit defendants even though they are obligated to do so under the law. In a word, there is need for a cardinal judicial and legal reform. But....

Let us look at things realistically. But what if the bureaucracy hinders or forestalls this? And what if it moreover—it is within its power to do so—makes economic disorders even worse? What then? Evidently, if something similar happens, there may be the very change in the mass consciousness that the bureaucracy is counting on. Specifically: the masses themselves ask for a firm hand without going into details. This is a well-known path. This is how bureaucrats have chopped away at democracy since the times of ancient Greece.

What is the basis for such a conclusion other than jurists' assumptions? First of all, the level of laxity and disorderliness that we have "attained?" Comparative analysis of the results of research conducted by sociologists at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee in 1986 and 1988 shows that this is noted by workers, collective farmers, and managers. For example, references to mismanagement rose from 82 to 92 percent.

Of course it should be considered that the mass consciousness does not always keep track of perestroyka activity, especially under the conditions of expanding glasnost when the public's attention is sometimes focused more on shortcomings than attainments. However, bureaucratic pressure and the wave of negligence are also obvious to the naked eye.

Is this not evidenced by Chernobyl? By ship and airplane accidents, by railroad and mine accidents? Under glasnost, they are not concealed and this is as it should be. The Soviet people must know about everything that is going on in the nation. However the bureaucracy is also prepared to use glasnost itself against perestroyka, to shift the responsibility for its crimes to glasnost. A classical example taken from the newspapers: for a long time now, in no one capital construction has been interested in quality projects. Institutes are primarily concerned with seeing to it that projects are completed on schedule. Ministries are ready to accept the most worthless work as long as it has been included in the plan. Contract construction organizations are still more tractable. They are not even averse to bad design documentation. Once they have received the funding, it permits them to postpone deadlines later on. As a result, the state sustains enormous losses—up to R15 billion! And no one is to blame.

Such is the **first column** of bureaucratism—it is the most active and the most dangerous. This column is prepared to commit any crime for the sake of self-preservation. It will stop at nothing.

Today, our society must once again learn vigilance. This is very difficult work. It demands maximum principle and legality of the Soviet people. At the same time, it demands maximum caution, tact, and trust.

The **second column** of bureaucratism is more massive. It includes practically all officials who directly participate in the management of production, state, and public affairs but who do not derive any direct personal advantage as a result. They are for the most part honest people who act within the framework of contradictory instructions. But some of them are also idlers who shirk serious work. They are people who shun responsibility. Individually, almost all of them are decent people. But in their aggregate they are an enormous incrustation on society's body.

Let us take the economy. It is no secret that the management sphere employs approximately 18 million persons. Of this number, 2.5 million belong to the apparatus of management organs; approximately 15 million are management personnel of associations, enterprises, and organizations. That is, there is a manager for every six or seven people. The maintenance of this entire enormous apparatus costs us R40 billion a year. And this at a time when the annual increase in national income is half of this figure.

And how does this golden apparatus work?

Frankly speaking, its work is thoroughly bad. If we evaluate it according to the end result, we must admit that stagnation is above all the result of bad management.

What if we judge on the basis of the actions of individuals? Then, we must note formalism, incompetence, indifference, and a lack of performance discipline. All this is bureaucratism in action.

Recently (in 1988), sociologists at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee carried out a study of four union ministries: finance, grain products, chemical industry, reclamation and water resources. What were the findings? More than 41 percent of their personnel were indifferent and totally uninterested in their jobs.

The party's demands for restructuring the style and methods of management are not being met at the ministries. Paper-shuffling flourishes as before. The number of pointless, unnecessary meetings is being slowly reduced. These facts were noted by 43.7 percent of the respondents at the Ministry of Finance; 69.5 percent at the Ministry of Reclamation and Water Resources; 80.4 percent at the Ministry of Grain Products; and 92.4 percent at the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. A considerable number (from 26.1 to 35.8 percent) noted losses of time when a third or even a half of the working day was wasted.

Only half of the respondents in the surveyed ministries believed that their superiors were qualified to lead their subdivisions. A still smaller number—39 percent, i. e., only one-third, believed that their immediate superiors (department or sector chief) were capable of creating a healthy creative atmosphere in the collective and of leading the collective to the realization of the objective.

Studies showed that three out of the four ministries had become a lifelong sanctuary for random people with no commitment to the effort. As a rule, the only people working in their specialty are those in the USSR Ministry of Finance. One-third of the respondents in the other ministries are not specialists in the given sector.

Where did these people come from? Who are they? What are they doing in such high positions of management? What is the benefit from them? Analysis showed that they for the most part are people under the age of 30. They comprise 31.8 percent of the surveyed ministries. In the sociologists' opinion, they obtained their jobs through pull and nepotism. This is one of the principal ways in which the bureaucratic system is infused with new blood. Even though the newcomers are young, they usually show no promise. They either soon become disenchanted with their work or else show no interest in it from the very beginning. They do not know how to manage nor do they wish to manage. One-third of the ministry employees candidly admit that their jobs do not correspond to their interests in life. They would like to transfer to other jobs. But they are unavailable and so they are forced to manage the sector. They manage in the hope that something better will turn up. What is better? Fate rarely smiles on people of this ilk. They will more likely have to toil until retirement. Unless, of course, the sector falls apart before then.

The discrepancy between the jobs and personal plans of these ministry youth is the highest—four times higher than among other categories. It is not by chance that approximately 75 percent of those dissatisfied with their work are young people.

Dissatisfaction among youth is usually of an abstract nature. This is not surprising for people who do not know either production or management, who have no desire to get to the heart of their job, and who look condescendingly at the sector that feeds them. They consider it bad form to talk shop away from work.

These outwardly educated young specialists, who relate to the sector as a lamentable burden that takes away 8 hours of their personal life every day, as yet play only an auxiliary role in the mechanism for the bureaucratic management of the sector. But this is bureaucratism's main reserve from which it will draw its strength for the next 30 or more years unless decisive measures are taken today.

Bureaucratic youth are considerably more conservative than the older generation. They are hostile to any innovation that requires their mental exertions. Among the Komsomol members polled there was not a single one who could say that in his personal work there was the beginning of any kind of perestroyka associated with the necessity of increasing his contribution to the common cause. These lazy young people are a poor hope for the nation.

However, even the activity that is shown by the older generation of bureaucrats today cannot satisfy society. The next wave of paper directed against paperwork does not evoke any particular enthusiasm. And as regards the effort, progress is still insignificant.

In many ministries, departments and institutions that are trying to achieve perestroyka from above, the further bureaucratization of the work is carried out under the name of democratization. There are plans for democratization, its expansion, and intensification, for monitoring their execution, etc. In sum, everything is as it was before—only the words are different.

The muses of bureaucratism never trouble themselves in vain. Once they have sung, check your pockets!

The **third column** of bureaucratism includes all of us. Perestroyka has most clearly revealed this sad truth to us. Strange as it may be, neither social scientists nor publicists were the first to call attention to this circumstance. It was discovered by satirists. "I want to live in a fine apartment. I want there to be no lines. I want not to be jostled on the bus so that my buttons come off. I want to have the full assortment of all the goods I desire. The only thing I do not want is to do anything for this." Here it is, the code of dependency! Secretly or openly it is today espoused by tens of millions of people not involved in management. Mass consumerism, mass passivity, mass formalism are blazing the trail for bureaucratism into tomorrow.

According to the estimate of the working people themselves, approximately 60 percent of the members of work collectives occupy a passive position in life. Almost 82 percent of the 13,200 workers, collective farmers, and employees polled by the sociologists indicated that they had encountered unconscientious attitudes toward work and obligations; 67.6 percent had witnessed the attempt to take more than was given to society; 66.6 percent had encountered hypocrisy and sanctimony; 50 percent—slander and calumny. One-fifth of the respondents indicated the actual existence of injustice toward people in the collective; two-thirds called attention to indifference, grovelling, and subservience, to "pull" and connections with the necessary people.

Does not all of this blaze the trail for bureaucratism? It does and how!

In order to be a thorough bureaucrat it is probably not necessary to occupy any position whatsoever. One does not need to have an office or telephones. One does not need to have instructions or papers of any kind. All one has to do is to arrange one's life in such a way as to live at the expense of others. But others must see that they will be in for it without you. You must train yourself to think within a limited range. And not a step to the side.

Is the schoolteacher who tries to keep his class in fear not a bureaucrat? What about the bus driver who slams the door in a passenger's face? Or a checkroom attendant who refuses to accept a coat? Or a producer who forces the viewer to watch his boring films? Or a father who persuades his son with his belt? Or the son who believes that his father must feed him until he reaches old age?

Such is everyday bureaucratism. It is all-embracing and omnipresent. It has lived in each of us since time immemorial. And if you now, while reading this article, catch the author in a formal contradiction, you can freely consider this thought to be a tribute to everyday bureaucratism.

Judge for yourselves. We cite the answers of economic managers to the question: "Do you hope to earn more if you do more in your work?" An affirmative response was given by 22 percent; a negative response by 35 percent; and 43 percent declared that they were not entirely certain. Is it any wonder that workers are lost in doubt as to whether to work harder or not?

Given such a mood, can one hope for an early breakthrough? They do not cherish such a hope. Thus, four-fifths of all workers and collective farmers polled stated that they worked in brigades. This is close to the figures of USSR Goskomstat. However only eight percent of them made a positive evaluation of the way khozraschet is being introduced in collectives at the lower level. An eloquent indicator!

Everyday bureaucratism grows out of the formalism of everyday life. And this occurs on the roadside of everyday consciousness. The point is that any form of consciousness is inherently divorced from reality, in other words, involves all manner of fantasy. But if artistic fantasy is found in works of art and scientific fantasy is found in forecasts, designs, plans, etc., everyday fantasy has two paths. One is real, practical reforms. The other is myth-making, dreamy inactivity, and building castles in the air. On this other path, everyday formalism, followed by bureaucratism, flourishes on the disparity between thoughts and actions.

Do you remember old Khottabych? Such a dear, kind, responsive sorcerer. Possessing fabulous power over the forces of nature, he fashioned a telephone from the finest marble. And what was the result? The form of the apparatus was flawless. Good enough to show at an exhibit! But as regards content, the oldster failed utterly. Time, energy, and materials were expended in vain. In vain did he pull a precious hair from his miraculous beard. The marble apparatus remained silent.

Every Soviet schoolchild knows this sad story.

Any Young Pioneer, if he reflected on this fact, could explain everything without difficulty. He would understand that Khottabych did not create this fake on purpose. The old man wanted to do good but he stumbled on the steps of knowledge. After all, a knowledgeable person, including such a one as the sorcerer, comes to understand the essence of surrounding things in no other way than through their external form. The understanding of form is the very first step on the path of knowledge. But for some it is also the very last. The Khottabych syndrome is a mass, extremely stable phenomenon.

How many of us are sincerely and unselfishly dedicated to form? Being sacredly convinced that we have brilliantly completed the learning process, we act accordingly. Thus do we act in all spheres of society's life. This is how we act at work and at home, among our own people and when we go visiting. And in the international arena as well.

But then cames bad luck. With the passage of time, such actions of ours become increasingly dangerous to those around us and consequently to us as well. At one time we killed a fly on our friend's forehead. Naturally we hit the accursed fly with all our might, with our entire five-clawed hand. Or, more likely, with a cobblestone. Now, however, the times have changed. The scientific-technological revolution has given us new, hitherto unheard of possibilities. Today we have in our hands the atom, the laser, genes.... What will happen?

Clearly we cannot live this way any longer.

There can be no two ways of thinking about this. The elimination of bureaucratism is a pressing historical task. This is a task of the critical, perestroyka period. The 27th CPSU Congress noted that the party must declare decisive and merciless war on bureaucratism. Vladimir Ilich Lenin considered it especially important to fight bureaucratism at critical moments when there is a demand for maximum efficiency, speed and energy. Today bureaucratism is a serious obstacle on the road to solving our main problem: the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of the nation and the radical restructuring of the economic mechanism associated therewith.

V.I. Lenin was the first to see the enormous danger posed by bureaucratism and he therefore taught us to fight against it with all our might and especially with the force of law.

Changing the Mechanism

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[Part Two of article by L. Ponomarev, doctor of historical sciences, and V. Shinkarenko, candidate of philosophical sciences: "Who Against Whom?: We—the Bureaucrats, or They—Us—Life Itself Poses This Question"]

[Text] We must get rid of bureaucratism not only through administrative intervention, the replacement of worthless officials, and the abolition of useless services. All this must be done, of course, without fail. But this is far from enough! The main thing that must be done in the course of socialist construction is to gradually create a new mechanism—a self-management mechanism of the people that will replace the bureaucratic management mechanism.

However, the replacement must be made not on the run, not all at once, not through decrees, but gradually so as to allow the new social mechanism to gain the necessary strength and stability. V.I. Lenin did not recognize cavalry charges against bureaucratism. Addressing the All-Russian Miners' Conference, he emphasized: "If someone comes to you and tells you: 'We will put an end to bureaucratism,' this is demagogy. This is nonsense. We will have to spend long years fighting bureaucratism and anyone who thinks otherwise is a charlatan and a demagogue because hundreds of measures are required to overcome bureaucratism."

Lenin proposed the following as urgent measures. The simplification of the state apparatus, leaving only those links the state absolutely cannot do without. That is, leaving only the vitally essential institutions. And then gradually improving the appartaus on the basis of real, practical needs. All this was to be done under the supervision, the active, and the ever broader participation of the working people. As white collar workers were released, they could be transferred to productive labor, to other spheres of social activity. Bureaucratism will disappear when "there is total participation of the working people themselves in government."

But instead of reducing we have multiplied the number of civil servants. The bureaucrats, upon gaining power, naturally saw no necessity whatsoever for self-government. Self-government was considered to be something belonging to the distant future.

Lenin's conception of socialism is being reborn today. The idea of the self-government of the people occupies a central place.

The massive reduction of the bureaucratic apparatus is taking place in the course of the democratization and restructuring of all spheres of public life. A reduction of the bureaucratic apparatus by 40-50 percent in the near future is planned in the RSFSR alone. One hundred fifteen ministries, departments, and administrations of autonomous republics and more than 800 kray and oblast organs of state and economic management are being abolished. In general, the administrative apparatus of the Russian Federation will be reduced by 263,000 persons which will make it possible to save R576 million a year. A similar picture is also seen in other union republics. However, in order that the struggle against bureaucratism be more successful, we must have a very clear picture of the enemy's face.

In bygone days, the general picture of the bureaucrat was that of an average statistical depersonalized civil servant who performed his duties perfunctorily and indifferently. This was a very primitive external portrait, more of a caricature than real even though as research described in the preceding issue in four ministries shows, this type also exists.

Time has shown—specifically in the course of 3 years of perestroyka—that the content and roots of bureaucratic activity are deep. Today's bureaucrat is not merely a statistical unit but personifies if not a certain idea, at least a certain conception of life.

The party's policy of broad democratization of the work of the state system, of all society; its policy of developing self-govoernment is also essentially a global offensive against bureaucracy. But the specific methods of this struggle cannot be set down all at once with ink and paper. They evolve in the course of perestroyka on the basis of the in-depth analysis of practical experience. And here virtually the greatest importance is acquired the knowledge of the entire complex of those factors which over the 70 preceding years have constantly supported bureaucratism, have developed and strengthened it until it became a million-headed monster bristling with millions of poisonous feathers.

The intricate intertwining of roots and bureaucratism under the conditions of perestroyka makes it capable of almost instantaneous mimicry. In the course of perestroyka, it is constantly modernizing its arsenal of ideas. It holds forth in the newspapers, on television and radio actively and without restraint. In so doing it masks its true nature.

Here we should call attention to the ideological omnivorousness of the bureaucrat, to his refined psychological adaptability.

Why are our economic innovations not producing the necessary results? State acceptance is barely squeaking through with enormous effort. Cooperatives are not succeeding in developing. The family contract is not getting on its feet properly. The initial application of the state order is not justifying the hopes placed in it. Why not? Evidently because these matters were immediately embraced by bureaucratism which was given the opportunity to present itself as an active champion of the innovations.

And now, after having proclaimed himself to be an innovator, a democrat, and a most active participant in perestroyka at all crossroads, the bureaucrat at the same time calmly smothers perestroyka by reducing its ideas and methods to absurdity. Here economic bureaucratism is combined with social and political demagogy, with ideological distortion directed against the very idea of perestroyka. But all this is done so subtly, so skillfully, so deftly, that there is hardly any basis for finding fault.

Under these conditions, we must not be seduced by partial successes. The struggle against the proliferation of paperwork or ostentation, against stagnation or inertia in itself, in isolation from the restructuring of the management apparatus that would draw its healthy part into the new economic mechanism—such a struggle is doomed from the outset. The orientation toward the end result of production rather than toward a bureaucrat higher up can be effective only if the fate of the person making the choice depends more on the actual result expressed in concrete, tangible form than on the disposition of the higher ups.

Of course the most important thing is to take away the economic stilts that enables the bureaucrat to rise above reality. This is clearly not an easy thing to do. The imperfection of the system of indicators and instructions and the differences in departmental interests shows itself here with full force when one bureaucrat willy-nilly supports another just because their personal interests are identical. They also identically contradict the public interest.

Radical restructuring of economic management draws all the working people into the management of the national economy thereby depriving the bureaucrat of his previous administrative and economic privileges. This occurs as a result of the restructuring of the activity of the central, republic and local organs of management. The planning system, the financial and credit system, pricing, and material-technical supply are restructured. Thus the ways of waging resolute struggle against bureaucratism have been defined quite clearly. But the struggle will be difficult if we consider the fact that restructuring in the attitude toward bureaucratism is dragged out by the bureaucrats themselves. This is how the great majority of the working people think.

According to the data of sociologists at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, perestroyka in the party organs is considered to be a success by only 11.4 percent of the working people; in soviet organs—8.4 percent; in health care organs—8.1 percent; in trade unions—6.4 percent; among economic managers—5.4 percent; and in the Komsomol—4.2 percent. They are staunch optimists. At any rate, they have no doubt.

V.I. Lenin's lessons in the struggle against bureaucratism are already producing a substantial result today. Glasnost, the principles of self-government, the universal democratization of society, appointment by election—the party has adopted all these things in the course of perestroyka and is actively using them in practice.

But we must go farther. We must identify both the strong and weak points of bureaucratism. After all, it is not by chance that bureaucratism endures in every country from century to century regardless of its system. There is something in it that enables it to exist in our country as well—comfortably—for 7 decades. What is it? We must find this out if for no other reason than the fact that the bureaucrats will have to be fought with all manner of methods. This includes prolonged explanatory and educational work in the course of which we must find common points of contact with the bureaucrats.

But all the same, what makes our home-grown Soviet bureaucrat strong? What has enabled him not only to beat off all attacks over a period of 70 years but also to grow, to develop, to improve, and to embrace more and more new areas of our life?

First of all, the massive nature [of bureaucratism]. The enormous number of bureaucrats unquestionably gives a new quality to bureaucratism. Naturally this does not mean that we can speak about a special class here as some occasionally do.

But there is reason to believe that bureaucratism, like any other mass phenomenon, possesses exceptional tenacity and the capacity for mass reproduction.

Perestroyka is in its fourth year. But according to sociologists at the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee, less than half of the working people are watching its progress. Only 27.7 percent are interested in the elections of leaders; 7.7 percent—in the restructuring of the work of the soviets; and only 18.6 percent participate in government. If things continue in the same vein, the bureaucrats can sleep soundly. There are plenty of ignoramuses and lazy people for their century!

Second, the high degree of organization. In this sense, bureaucratism has something to throw on the scales of history. The rigid centralism of its hierarchical structure has thus far proven itself when vitally important things were at stake. As historical experience has shown, an administrative system based on commands and the legal, economic, and spiritual oppression of the masses can function for quite a long time if it is periodically renewed through the replacement of cadres that have compromised themselves, organizational structures, and ideological principles.

Bureaucratism continuously absorbs all the organizational attainments of socialism. Yes indeed, bureaucratism also learns—learning is vitally important to it. It has already long ago transformed most of our present state and public institutions and organizations into an instrument of bureaucratic action. With certain qualifications, it can be said that they have become forms of existence of bureaucratism (no sooner was a temperance society established than it was bureaucratized!) and we will have to wash and scrub them for a long time before we can restore the truly socialistic and innovative essence they have lost. This is also confirmed by the sociological data we have previously cited. Especially the data that attest to the steadfast desire to convince ourselves and others that the struggle against bureaucratism at the institutional and organizational level is being successfully conducted.

The exceptional degree of organization of bureaucratism consists in the fact that each of its representatives is perfectly oriented toward every "area of management" and knows his own maneuvers, the maneuvers of his neighbor, the maneuvers of the entire institution, the maneuvers of the entire bureaucratic system. Its stereotypical organizational actions have been long ago and thoroughly assimilated by the entire bureaucratic system. While they are ordinarily totally useless under exceptional circumstances, they usually feel like a fish in water in a conventional situation. Third, the ideology of bureaucratism. Such an ideology exists. It is very strong but it is difficult to detect because of its inherent mimicry properties. The point is that bureaucratism does not have its own class ideas. In principle it always confines itself to the ideas of organization and management, directing them into the necessary channel, and at the same time painting them with all the colors of society's dominant ideology. It is these colors that confuse those who seek its ideological roots.

Bureaucratism assumes the ideology of the state whose body it parasitizes. Slave-owners, feudal lords, the bourgeoisie, workers, and peasants have successively paid tribute to bureaucratism. With captivating sincerity, it pledges love and loyalty to everyone. But it loves only itself and is indeed true to this love to the grave.

It would be a mistake to equate all bureaucratism with bungling. Overly zealous performers are needed only as additional insurance. Here they proceed from the simple worldly wisdom that you can't spoil the porridge with butter. But this is the upper, superficial stratum of bureaucratic thought.

But on the whole, bureaucratic thinking is not as simple as it seems. As a rule, it is deep and many-sided. It is closely connected with life and is highly flexible. Bureaucratism readily adapts any innovation to its own needs. Without any difficulty whatsoever, it readily turns all measures directed against it to its own advantage.

Bureaucratic ideology is mobile, very flexible, and even dialectical. It has the ability to ward off reality ahead of time if it is a matter of society attempting to rid itself of bureaucratic dominance.

Is this not indicated by the clearly expressed desire of lower level party workers to "strengthen" the primary party organization with a full-time technical secretary? This is supposed to make it possible for the party bureau secretary to concentrate on live work with people. Is everything correct? Is everything in the spirit of the time? With one exception: if this wish is fulfilled, hundreds of thousands more Communists appointed to this new position will take up the pen and begin writing new papers.

Fourth, personal interest. There probably would not have every been any bureaucratism if in deep antiquity man had not discovered the simple truth that it is not necessary to do a good job in order to eat well. The exploitation of this thought, which always generates an unhealthy interest, continues even today. Bureaucratism is one of the poisonous plants that are sown by personal interest in the field of management. Among them we find careerism, the love of power, vanity, and many other vices.

Bureaucratism opens up broad opportunities for the satisfaction of personal interests—this is the principal secret behind its tenacity. As a compensation for performing official duties, it permits the bureaucrat to focus his free time on things that interest him most. Whoever wants to can spend their Sundays thinking about open-hearth furnaces. But the majority prefer the family, soccer, and the other joys of life. They also dream about the time when it will be possible to have not 2 but 3 days off a week.

Is this perhaps not specifically the reason why our institutional youth are in no hurry to join in the struggle against bureaucratism? And why struggle if they find everything so good on the job the way things are. As long as the old bureaucrats are still sitting in their chairs, there is no need for young people to exert themselves. It is not by chance that only 32.1 percent of the people under 20 polled by sociologists of the Academy of Sciences of the CPSU Centgral Committee strive to occupy an active position in life. Between 20 and 39 years, this indicator rises from 44.5 to 46.5 percent. From 40 to 49 years—51.1 percent. The figure rises as a function of age. Almost 60 percent of the people between the age of 50 and 59 years desire to be active. Those 60 and older—62.3 percent. This is a strange trend, is it not? It does not benefit society.

Fifth, practicality. Only at first glance does it appear that bureaucrats are remote from life, from real life problems. In actual fact, this is not the case. They resolve their own life problems, usually in the very best way.

A bureaucrat is the creator of the cult of officialdom and is at the same time its voluntary slave. He compensates his servility before his superiors by tyrannizing his subordinates. Revolutionary restructuring is overthrowing the bureaucrat. It takes away his power. It strips him of the aura of state interests. It does not permit him to tyrannize other people. Finally, it deprives him of the pie he has not earned. What is a bureaucrat to do under these conditions? The best strategy is to love perestroyka. To do so immediately by every means. To embrace it firmly and to smother it in the embrace. This is what the old bureaucrats are doing. But the young, unfledged office workers are as yet concentrating primarily on their personal concerns. They are biding their time.

Raykom Official on Cadres, Criticism of Leaders

PM2306093588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jun 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Letter from Prof P. Khrenov, member of Kuybyshevskiy CPSU Raykom Bureau in Irkutsk, under the rubric "19th Party Conference. Pondering the CPSU Central Committee Theses" and the general heading "From the Editorial Mail": "Who Is in the Reserve?"]

[Text] The party conference is going to discuss the most important problems of internal party democracy. A great many proposals have already been made in this connection. Some of them regard replaceability of elected personnel as the panacea for all ills. In my view, this is not enough. There must be serious, painstaking work with the reserve, and competent workers with high standards must be promoted to leading party posts. I also believe it is necessary to periodically carry out public certification of them and to determine their degree of suitability for their work. We will then perhaps prevent useless people from "sitting" for years in the party apparatus.

The orientation toward local cadres must be a very important point when promoting workers. Capable, mature, intelligent people are to be found everywhere. There is no need to send obkom secretaries, including first secretaries, and oblispolkom chairmen from Moscow and other parts of the country, as has been the case in Irkutsk Oblast to date. What is the point of "dragging" an obkom secretary for construction, an agriculture secretary, or an oblispolkom chairman from the other end of the country when the oblast has its own intelligent cadres who are familiar with the local conditions? This is a serious problem of cadre policy which needs comprehensive discussion.

Ideological work must be decisively restructured. It is in a rut, is based on cliches, amounts to nothing more than endless measures on paper, and is out of touch with the demands made by life.

There must be open discussion—in conformity with the current statute, incidentally—of the actions of any party member, whatever his post. At present, however, very few people are brave enough to criticize an obkom first secretary, let alone a Central Committee secretary or Politburo member. And where can this be done? The oblast newspaper is hardly likely to publish this kind of criticism. Leading comrades rarely have meetings with labor collectives. What is more, the situation at these meetings is often unsuitable. How are ordinary party members to know what a Central Committee secretary or Politburo member does? After all, the range of their duties is not known. People know about them too only by hearsay: Detailed biographical information on them is hard to find.

Party leaders have begun to make it their practice to visit oblasts, krays, and republics—this is good. But the reports on these visits given in the newspapers and on television contain so little real information—despite their length—that it is hard to establish the purpose of the comrade's visit to the oblast, what was decided, what tasks were set as a result of the visit, and who will monitor the implementation of the decisions made. The best that will be happen will be a meeting of the traditional party aktiv, but that is as far as glasnost goes.

The extent of glasnost in party work has become an urgent issue. More and more people are speaking out in favor of open plenums of obkoms, the republic Communist Party central committees, and the CPSU Central Committee. We must stop being afraid of washing our dirty linen in public.

One more important issue connected with restructuring party life. As an elected member of a raykom bureau, I have been able to see with my own eyes how the work of raykom, gorkom, and obkom departments is completely duplicated. This gives rise to a mass of organizational misunderstandings. Everyone tries to "play his own game"! But it is the raykom workers who really have a hard time of it—the endless haste in dealing with serious long-term issues, the constant stream of immediate concerns, peremptory shouts from above with and without cause, "democracy" from the top downwards, and the peremptory tone of instructions. All this profoundly contradicts the spirit of democratization and must be changed.

Readers Discuss Party Conference Themes

PM1706115588 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 4 June 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 a roundup of readers' letters under the rubric "Discussion Rostrum" and the general headline "We Discuss the CPSU Central Committee Theses." The section subheaded "Dialogue. I Am For. And I Am Against" carries two letters including the following from Yu. Kuvakin, director of Aktyubinsk Oblast's "Prigorodnyy" Sovkhoz:

"I support the idea of Communists' sociopolitical certification. The question has become urgent. In recent years, quite a few party members have ceased to fulfill their vanguard role and have compromised themselves in people's eyes through their inactivity and idle chatter and have wallowed in drunkenness and moneygrubbing. Others hope that everything will be forgiven provided they don't draw attention to themselves.

"I realize that it is no simple task to restore genuine Leninist militancy and principledness in the party ranks. We have only just enough time. But I do believe that certification will be a truly effective means of purifying and strengthening the party if it is not suppressed by the bureaucracy. So it seems that everything must be done to ensure that bureaucrats are not allowed within firing range of certification. Otherwise, they will go crazy and drive out true fighters for restructuring and elevate creeps and toadies."

"How can certification be organized? First, a special democratically elected commission made up of Communists holding prestige in the collective must implement it. These must be honest, militant, and bold Communists. The commission must not be dependent on the party committee, the trade union committee, or the administration. This will ensure objectivity. Second, after comprehensively studying the person to be certified, the commission submits its draft for examination by a party conference. It is better that this be an open meeting involving nonparty people also. This will ensure glasnost and democracy.

"My viewpoint is as follows: We must resolutely abandon malicious violators of the CPSU Rules and and human morals. Others must be given time to change and maybe become candidates."

The second letter in this section is signed by V. Bykovskiy, hero of socialist labor and member of the CPSU since 1944 from Minsk, and reads as follows:

"I read attentively the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th all-union party conference. I want to voice my thoughts on certain items.

"I consider the proposal to carry out sociopolitical certification of Communists as a means of purifying and strengthening the party unwarranted and unjustified. Why? First, why announce a campaign to purify the party when such purification is being carried out literally every day? For no one has hitherto abrogated the CPSU Rules. It is written there in black and white that primary party organizations systematically listen to Communists' reports at their meetings about their fulfillment of the Rules and the party program and adopt appropriate resolutions. Party organizations must also in accordance with the Rules take steps to exert influence, right down to expulsion from party ranks, if they find out that a Communist has worked badly, violated the demands of the Rules, or discredited the title of party member. Is this not purification and strengthening of party ranks? How people in party organizations approach the resolution of such questions is another matter—this depends on the maturity and principledness of the Communists and the party organization secretary, and the way in which they are led by party raykoms and gorkoms. In this context, accountability and responsibility must also be toughened.

"Second, it is worth thinking about the political aspect of the proposed certification. For the Soviet state is 70 years old, and the party is even older. An absolute majority of party members has withstood the endurance test, not through any conversations or political 'inquiries,' but through life."

The following two letters come under the subhead "Thinking Aloud". The first is from A. Nikitin, a worker from Chelyabinsk, and reads as follows:

"The CPSU Central Committee Theses say that the party will consistently conduct a policy of openness and glasnost and free discussion of the problems of the past and present. I read these lines and thought: Why has the historical position of real fighters for the ideals of the revolution been equated with that of all manner of favorites and political tricksters?

"Of course, you may retort: Why stir up the past? The whole thing's inhuman. Excuse me, but today we are talking (and rightly so) about setting up a memorial to the victims of the political repressions. I believe that this must be done, and in the center of Moscow, moreover. What will then happen to the tombs of their executioners? Will they really be rubbing shoulders with one another? No, there is but one justice in the world. It must be resolutely rehabilitated. Our holy places—Red Square and the Kremlin Wall—must be cleansed."

This is followed by a letter from I. Ovchinnikov, member of the CPSU since 1954 from Sverdlovsk Oblast, which reads as follows:

"The party apparatus has swollen to incredible proportions. What is its business? Paper shuffling or else interfering in the work of soviets and economic managers. I think that the number of party workers could be cut by half or one-third without any detriment. An elective political organ made up of more workers and peasants with substantial work experience at the bench and on the land must manage everything. One more thing: All manner of privileges and benefits must be abolished."

Dobrynin Attends 'Celebratory Meeting'

LD2206215188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 22 Jun 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The "Internationale," the international proletarian anthem, is 100 years old. A celebratory meeting, which was held today in the Hall of Columns in the House of Unions, was devoted to this date. On the presidium were Comrade Dobrynin and representatives of party, local soviet and public organizations, party veterans, and cultural figures. [passage omitted]

RSFSR's V.A. Kaznacheyev Appointed Minister

PM2206152588 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 9 June 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 2 an RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on V.A. Kaznacheyev's appointment as RSFSR social security minister, which reads in full as follows:

"Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Appointment of V.A. Kaznacheyev as RSFSR Minister of Social Security.

"The RSFSR Supreme Soviet resolves to appoint Comrade Viktor Alekseyevich Kaznacheyev RSFSR minister of social security.

"V. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

"Moscow, 8 June 1988"

The same page carries the following unattributed report headlined "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium":

"The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Viktor Alekseyevich Kaznacheyev from his post as chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education on his transfer to other work."

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session Held

PM2206154588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Excerpts] A routine session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held on 8 June.

The session noted that RSFSR working people, like all Soviet people, have welcomed the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference with deep satisfaction. During discussion of this most important political document working people in cities and village are putting forward proposals aimed at deepening the process of restructuring, further democratizing the life of the party and society, fully restoring the powers of soviets as sovereign organs of representation by the people, and considerably enhancing their role in solving questions of state, economic, and sociocultural life.

The presidium examined the question of the work of Roslavlskiy Rayon's Lipovskiy rural soviet, Smolensk Oblast. [passage omitted]

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the report of A.A. Kuleshov, chairman of the Altay Kray Soviet Executive Committee, on the work of the observer commissions under the kray's rayispolkoms and gorispolkoms.

It was noted that the krayispolkom is not making requisite demands upon subordinate soviet ispolkoms for the state of observer commissions' work and is exercising inadequate leadership of its observer commission.

The presidium demanded that the krayispolkom eliminate shortcomings in the activity of observer commissions, direct their attention to intensifying the monitoring of corrective labor institutions' work, and give assistance in finding work and accommodation to people released from places of detention.

The presidium also examined the question of progress in fulfilling the RSFSR Supreme Soviet 14 January 1987 Resolution "On the Work of Kabardino-Balkar ASSR Soviets in Preventing Violations of the Law by Juveniles" in the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR and passed a relevant resolution.

Certain other questions of the state life of the republic were examined at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session.

Afghanistan Veterans Welcomed Into Militia

PM2206101388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Jun 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "The 'Afghans' Will Not Let Us Down"]

[Text] Frunze, 13 Jun—Some 20 new staffers joined Kirghiz SSR internal affairs bodies today. They are all former internationalist troops, holders of motherland combat awards, and only recently were participating in combat operations.

"We see the guys who served in Afghanistan as a reliable reserve for strengthening our cadres," Militia Major General V. Goncharov, the republic's minister of internal affairs, said. "Having seen death and blood and learned the true value of human life, they are distinguished by a heightened sense of social justice, honesty, and intolerance of any illegal activity, that is, the very qualities that a police officer should possess. We believe that these people will be at the forefront of the struggle against crime, lawbreaking, and antisocial elements."

News Conference Marks End of Church Festivities

PM2306115588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Jun 88 Morning Edition p3

[G. Deyev report: "Metropolitans' News Conference"]

[Text] June 17 is the last day of the official jubilee celebrations dedicated to the 1,000th anniversary of Russia's Christianization. A news conference was organized for journalists, more than 1,000 of whom are accredited to the publishing department of the Moscow Patriarchy, with the participation of Metropolitans Filaret of Kiev and Galich, Filaret of Minsk and Belorussia, and Pitrim of Volokolamsk and Yuryevskiy and also K. Kharchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Religious Affairs Council; H.J. Held, member of the leadership of the World Council of Churches (FRG); and B. Graham, a preacher from the United States; who were all guests of honor of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Answering journalists' questions, K. Kharchev said that all the festivities dedicated to the 1,000th anniversary of Russia's Christianization are evidence of the new relationship between the church and the Soviet state. Major changes have taken place in this sphere recently. The actual microclimate has become better and the extraneous developments of past years, when stereotypes sometimes offending the feelings of believers were current in our country, are now losing their strength. The open nature of the celebrations held in Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, and Vladimir is evidence of this. They were conducted with the participation of major statesmen and public figures from the Soviet Union and abroad. The jubilee celebrations are a symbol of the current revolutionary transformations being made in society.

The foundations of a new church were recently laid in Tsaritsyno, which will be built with assistance from the Soviet state. Land is needed and some 5 hectares have been allocated in a picturesque region of a new development area in Moscow. Surely this must be symbolic! Believers are also Soviet people and they have a complete right to express their religious beliefs with dignity.

American journalists were interested to know what the procedure will now be for opening a church.

Believers have to make an application to the local authorities, K. Kharchev said. It must be signed by no less than 20 people. Then the local soviet will authorize the organization of a church community and register it. As a rule the needs of believers are satisfied in accordance with the law. In some cases, however, the law is still being broken. There are problems with the registration of new church communities and we do not conceal this fact. But in recent years we have been trying to solve these problems together, working on the basis of believers' vital needs. In the space of just 5 and 1/2 months this year almost 90 Russian Orthodox communities have been registered in the country. And in this same time almost 160 religious organizations have been registered in the Soviet Union.

An IZVESTIYA correspondent asked Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich about the plans for the new church in Tsaritsyno, how long it will take to build, and how its construction will be funded.

We do not have any plan as yet, the metropolitan replied. We hope that in the near future our church leaders will study the question of drawing up a plan of the new church in real earnest. Naturally, it will be built from Russian Orthodox church funds. We also hope that our Orthodox congregation will not refuse to give money for this good cause.

With the help of the state we will obtain stock materials and assistance from construction organizations. It is hard to give any definite timetable at present. But we believe that in the conditions of restructuring the church will be built in the shortest time possible.

Answering a question from an American journalist—can one expect to see religious instruction for children introduced in schools in the near future?—K. Kharchev said in particular:

We work on the basis of the 20 January 1918 Decree of Soviet Power on the division of the church from the state and the school from the church. It clearly states that teaching children religion and religious instruction generally is possible only on a private basis.

Another question. A great deal has been written in the press recently about the problems of Valaam Island. It is difficult to evaluate its significance for the church and for the history of the Russian state. There are some 120 monuments of historical architecture there which are in a lamentable condition. Is the question of transferring some of these monuments on Valaam to the Russian Orthodox Church being considered?

This question is being looked into, the chairman of the Religious Affairs Council said. But for the present I can say with a full sense of responsibility that the church will continue to take part in the restoration of historical monuments.

After the Svyato-Danilov Monastery, the famous Optina Hermitage and Tolgskiy Monastery in Yaroslavl were returned to the Russian Church, and in a number of cities old churches have been restored and new ones built. As far as Valaam is concerned, it is indeed true that some of these monuments will be transferred to the church authorities so that they can organize a monastery there.

Briefing Held To Explain Ukraine Food Shortages

AU2106124788 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 15 Jun 88 p 3

[RATAU report: "A News Conference in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] On 14 June I.A. Mozgovoy, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, organized a news conference dedicated to the measures that are to be taken in order to provide the working people with a better supply of foodstuffs.

These problems are constantly in the center of the attention of the Party Central Committee and the republic's government, he said. On the whole, the supplies to the population have somewhat improved.

However, the demand for a number of products, particularly for meat and vegetables, still has not been fully met. The purchases and market stocks of meat have shrunk in some oblasts, particularly in Dnepropetrovsk, Crimea, Kharkov, and Chernigov Oblasts, and those of milk, in Zaporozhye, Odessa, Zakarpatskaya, and Voroshilovgrad Oblasts. In a number of places, the sales of flour, potatoes, macaroni, fish, vegetable oil, and eggs have declined. This situation be explained by the fact that many party, administrative, and economic organs have confined their specific organizational work in this direction to formal measures, have replaced it with general slogans, and have not got rid of the free-ride mentality.

While speaking about ways of radically settling the problems and about reserves for the immediate future, the Central Committee secretary singled out a number of important and urgent tasks.

First of all, it is essential everywhere to take advantage of the opportunities to step up the output of all agricultural products, particularly of grain and feed, and to sharply reduce the losses that have been incurred in harvesting and storing, losses that amount to one-fifth of the yield. A great deal has to be done to improve the quality of grain, vegetables, potatoes, and feed.

A more palpable help is expected from farmsteads, subsidiary holdings run by industrial enterprises and organizations, from collective orchards and gardens. It is essential to increase the role of consumer societies, to improve trade services to the population, public catering, and the performance of kolkhoz markets. Particular attention has to be paid to big cities and industrial centers. In cooperation with rural toilers, each of them has to develop and implement a program for developing a food base. All branches and national economic complexes must find their concrete places in this important undertaking.

Speaking about tasks facing the mass media, I.A. Mozgovoy pointed out that they should more widely elucidate the experience of production collectives in improving labor organization, in operating under the new management conditions, and in making use of all kinds of contracting, particularly of the family and the leasing types. A more thorough treatment is required by integrated agro-industrial formations—combines, associations, agricultural firms, and systems. At present it is essential to elucidate all aspects of feed gathering and preparations for the harvest.

Statistics Cited for AIDS Incidence

PM2206110188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 18 Jun 88 p 4

[Answer to reader's query by USSR Ministry of Health Quarantinable Infections Main Administration: "How Do Matters Stand With AIDS?"—first two paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[Text] Newspapers announced that there is one AIDS victim in our country. A great deal of time has elapsed since then. What is the situation now? (L. Voronina, Moscow).

The answer has been given by the USSR Ministry of Health Quarantinable Infections Main Administration.

There is still only 1 patient with AIDS in our country, the same 36-year-old interpreter who was infected during a long trip abroad as a result of homosexual contacts. He is being treated with a number of preparations which are making it possible to improve his state of health.

By screening the blood of citizens from so-called risk groups—prostitutes, homosexuals, and drug addicts—we have already revealed 56 carriers of the AIDS virus (that is, it is present in the organism but has not caused the clinical stage of the disease).

Donors, blood banks and blood product banks are being actively screened and diagnostic laboratories are being equipped with equipment—380 have already opened and by the end of the year there will be more than 1,000. In short, the comprehensive program to combat this most dangerous illness is being consistently fulfilled.

Central Committee Adopts Sociology Decision

PM2206023688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jun 88 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution "On Enhancing the Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in Resolving the Key Social Problems of Soviet Society."

The resolution stresses that the implementation of the course of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums aimed at revolutionary restructuring, the pursuit of a radical economic reform and an active social policy, the comprehensive democratization of society, and the renewal of its spiritual and moral sphere require the intensification of the role of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the provision of scientific support for restructuring, the solution of the key theoretical and practical problems of socialism, and the molding of sociopolitical thinking among the broad working masses. This makes qualitatively new demands on the development of sociology as a science and on the use of the results of sociological research in the practical management of social processes.

The CPSU Central Committee believes that the present situation in sociology does not meet society's needs. Sociologists have still not taken their proper place in the creative development of Marxist-Leninist social science, the shaping of working people's scientific world outlook, and the implementation of the CPSU's social policy.

The task is to raise the development of Marxist-Leninist sociology to a qualitatively new level, to substantially improve the level of scientific studies in terms of the theory, methodology, and methods employed, and to radically improve their use in the management and forecasting of social processes and the deepening of democratization and glasnost. It is also necessary to implement a package of measures aimed at ensuring that sociological research is comprehensive and productive, developing a network of sociology institutes and centers, enhancing the role of social development services at enterprises and organizations, fundamentally improving sociological education and the training of cadres of sociologists, creating a scientifically based system for the study of public opinion, expanding sociology's data base, increasing the output and improving the quality of sociological literature, and improving the material, technical, and financial backup of scientific studies.

It is planned to concentrate sociological collectives' efforts on research into the most topical and complex problems of Soviet society's development, and the main areas of sociological research have been defined.

The USSR Academy of Sciences must ensure the gradual establishment of a system of scientific institutions and subunits specializing in sociology as necessary and where the appropriate cadres are available. The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research is to become the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology. It will study fundamental problems relating to sociological theory, methodology, and methods, coordinate sociological research in the country, and carry out mainly international, all-union, and regional research. The USSR State Committee for Public Education must take measures to develop the network of problem-solving scientific research sociological laboratories and scientific subunits within educational institutions on the principles of economic accountability.

In view of the requirements of the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) regarding the preferential social development of labor collectives, it is deemed necessary to fundamentally improve sociological work in national economic sectors and at enterprises and to enhance the role of social development services in studying the motivation of labor activity and the values and interests of various groups of working people, developing socialist democracy, and implementing the principles of social justice and labor and sociopolitical activeness.

Measures have been planned to improve sociological education and the training, retraining, and skill improvement of sociology cadres. USSR ministries and departments and union republic Councils of Ministers must determine the need for cadres of sociologists for the period through the year 2000. In the current 5-year plan it is intended to open sociology faculties or departments in the country's largest VUZ's and to organize the specialization in sociology and the establishment of other specialist subjects at VUZ's.

To raise the standard of the best sociology cadres the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and the USSR State Committee for Public Education, together with interested ministries and departments, will provide in the annual plans for an increase in admissions to postgraduate and doctoral work in sociology. It is necessary to expand the retraining of cadres in special sociology departments at leading VUZ's and also to organize training in problems of sociology, social psychology, and the management of social processes for leading workers and specialists in sectoral and intersectoral skill improvement institutes.

To improve the social orientation of cadres it is planned to introduce the teaching of sociology and social psychology courses into the system of working people's political and economic training and to actively develop the sociology faculties of universities of Marxism-Leninism.

Special significance is attached to the analysis and use of public opinion in deepening the processes of the democratization of Soviet society and developing glasnost and creative initiative in the masses' sociopolitical activeness. It is planned to improve the study of public opinion primarily by developing and increasing the effectiveness of the work of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions under the AUCCTU and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology Center for the Study of Public Opinion, and sociology departments of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, VUZ's, ministries, and departments.

The USSR State Committee for Statistics together with the corresponding ministries and departments will carry out the gradual establishment of a system for the study of public opinion on the most important problems of domestic and international life.

To increase the level of the population's information on the main questions of social development and the improvement of the statistical base of sociology, it is planned to expand the publication of statistical materials of a social character, to organize the systematic periodical publication of topical statistical materials and reviews, and to regularly inform the public at large on questions of morality statistics.

The resolution noted the need to step up the propagation of sociological knowledge. It is planned to substantially expand the publication of scientific, methodological, and popular literature on sociology. It is planned to prepare and publish manuals on Marxist-Leninist sociology and specific sociological disciplines for students, plant sociologists, the skill improvement system, and political and economic education.

Measures have been outlined on the provision of resources for the development of sociology. The USSR Gossnab, the USSR State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, and union republic councils of ministers must ensure the allocation of material and technical resources for the performance of work in the sociology sphere in accordance with the present resolution.

Union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms are instructed to step up organizational and ideological-political work to develop sociology and the study of public opinion locally and to carry out constant monitoring of the activity of sociology subunits. Party committees must proceed from the premise that the results of sociological research should actively help to improve the style, forms, and methods of party leadership.

The resolution stresses that measures to enhance the role of sociology in resolving the key social problems facing Soviet society must help to step up the process of restructuring and to reveal more fully Soviet people's creative potential.

Official Views Results of Opinion Poll

LD2206091088 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1740 GMT on 21 June carries a 10-minute program entitled "Spotlight on Restructuring" presented by commentator German Sedov with V.N. Ivanov, director of the Sociological Research Institute.

Sedon begins by saying: "The Sociological Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences has for the first time carried out a wide-scale study to discover public opinion on the problems of restructuring. The questionnaire was conducted at 123 major enterprises in various branches of industry, such as Uralmash, the Kirovskiy Zavod in Leningrad, the Vladivostok Dalzavod, the Moscow Oblast Elktrostal works, the Riga VEF works, the Kalinin Worsted Combine, the Norilsk mining and concentration plant, and other enterprises. The questions were answered by 11,140 people, workers, engineers, and technicians, office workers and managers, starting from team leaders and going right up to directors of factories and associations. The aim is not merely to take a sociological snapshot, but to penetrate right into the essence of social processes and phenomena and to elucidate the problems and contradictions engendered by restructuring itself, to define the conditions and factors which facilitate restructuring, and those which impede it. In our program today we will refer to the main topics of the study and show the dynamics of public opinion, that is, the comparison between what was said last year and what was said this year, 1988."

He then asks Ivanov: "What is your personal viewpoint of the need for restructuring? Last year 86.4 percent of those polled answered this questgion affirmatively; this year, however, fewer did so—80.6 percent."

The institute director explains this as due to disillusion on many people's part, the result of excessive hopes placed in restructuring. The questionnaire contained more specific questions, he says, adding: "Here, for example: Have substantial successes been achieved in restructuring the economy? Of all those polled, only 2.7 percent answered yes. But I reiterate that they were answering a question about substantial successes. But as to whether a certain measure of success had been achieved, as many as 42.5 percent answered affirmatively." Ivanov points out that in the sphere of social policy 4.7 percent consider that substantial successes have been achieved; changes in social amenities and housing, for instance, are more tangible; and more than 50 percent of those polled thought that a certain measure of success has been achieved in social policy. "At the same time, the proportion of those who say that virtually nothing at all has been achieved in social policy remains very high—31.7 percent. This is the real assessment, so to speak, of what is going on, and of how the people directly engaged in this process regard the events and manifestations that are taking place," he remarks. Ivanov explains this as due to the objective factors which have affected the managerial apparatus. "It is quite natural that it is not calculated to stimulate work, if people do not know what tomorrow holds for them, whether they will be leaving or staying. And then people take changes in status negatively. As for those who are in some way connected to the managerial apparatus or dependent upon it, the current shortcomings in their work become more evident. It is this that gives rise to the assessment which we find rather worrying today," he notes.

Sedov comments on the results, stressing that it is up to each individual worker in his own workplace to bring about the revolution in people's minds which will facilitate restructuring. One of the main factors of restructuring is democratization: In the indsutrial sphere, this is most closely connected with self-management and the work of labor councils, and it is here that the work of individuals must be brought into play: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor, he says in conclusion.

Glasnost, Law, Democracy Discussed

PM2306073188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jun 88 Second Edition p 2

[Interviews with Doctor of Historical Sciences A.M. Sovokin, party worker L.A. Onikov, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences Yu.M. Baturin by V. Kerimov under the rubric "Pages of History": "Glasnost and Democracy"; date and place of interviews not given—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] Today, in our latest "Pages of History" feature, we address the problem of glasnost in the life of the country and the party. The course of discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses and the readers' letters arriving at PRAVDA's editorial offices show that many people are perturbed by this problem. What was V.I. Lenin's approach toward glasnost, how was this principle implemented in practical party work? In what direction is work being done to enshrine in legislation this most important element of democracy? These questions are answered by Doctor of Historical Sciences Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Sovokin, party worker Leon Arshakovich Onikov, and Candidate of Juridical Sciences Yuriy Mikhaylovich Baturin.

The material is being published under the general editorship of Academician G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Marxism-Leninism Institute.

Measuring Ourselves Against Lenin [subhead]

Correspondent: It is customary for us, at sharp and crucial stages of history, to turn to V.I. Lenin, "consult" him, and measure our course against his ideas. Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, what did V.I. Lenin write about glasnost, and when?

A. Sovokin: The first time V.I. Lenin raised the question of glasnost as a most important sign of democratism was right at the turn of the century, when he was studying pressing questions of the social democratic movement and elaborating the principle of the new-style party. "It would be ridiculous to talk about democratism without glasnost," he wrote in his work "What Is To Be Done?", "and glasnost, moreover, which is not limited to members of the organization." He believed that a party claiming to be democratic must do everything openly, up to and including party congress sessions. Its work must not be shrouded in secrecy only for rank and file party members, but should be open to those who do not belong to its ranks—in other words, the mass of working people. And that was to apply even in the conditions of political persecution!

V.I. Lenin perceived broad party glasnost as the most correct and the only reliable means of struggle for party unity and against the creation of various factions. The independent judgment of the entire party mass, he noted, helps to moderate the excessive fervor of some, to cool the ardor of others, and to prove and demonstrate the importance of party discipline. Glasnost, according to Lenin, is truthful discussion of the essence of matters "without any bragging or literary brashness."

Correspondent: A cautious attitude toward glasnost as something destructive, something that undermines basic foundations, still prevails to this day.

A. Sovokin: V.I. Lenin, as if foreseeing such sentiments, wrote a dialogue between two "onlookers," which he titled "Conversation." The first Onlooker is perturbed by the harsh forms of struggle between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks and is under the impression that this struggle is degenerating into a squabble and an open quarrel, thus alienating the working people from the workers' press, and that this could result in their prolonged disillusionment with socialism. Thus, he claimed, the socialists are alienating the masses from socialism, and so on, and so forth.

This first Onlooker is very like our contemporary "lamenters of socialism" who are guardians of dogmatically learned principles. So I recommend readers to read for themselves this "Conversation" written by V.I. Lenin, on pages 51-54 in volume 23 of his Complete Collected Works. Here I will restrict myself to a brief remark. Lenin pointed out that serious questions cannot be solved without "harsh forms" of struggle, that the meaning of the struggle is of greater interest and is historically more significant than scenes and descriptions of so-called "excesses" and "extremes." In response to the use of "extremes" of struggle and the fabrication of falsifications for the purpose of intimidation, V.I. Lenin exclaimed: "Don't use threats, please! Don't use intimidation! Come on now, you are beginning to look like people who are ready to condemn glasnost just because false reports have been published.... But glasnost is like a sword which itself heals the wounds it inflicts. So resolutions may be forged? The forgers will be exposed and kicked out. And that is all." How contemporary it all sounds!

Correspondent: Some bourgeois political scientists lament that Lenin advocated democracy and glasnost only while he was in opposition. But when he came to power....

A. Sovokin: From the first days after the establishment of Soviet power, the Bolsheviks strove to inform the people's masses as much as possible about the activities of the government, the soviets, and public organizations. "We need **complete and truthful** information. And truth must not depend on the person it is meant to serve," V.I. Lenin wrote in 1921.

According to Lenin, glasnost is not bureaucratic accountability, not dry figures and data but living examples, repulsive and attractive alike. To guarantee glasnost means to organize a daily struggle against everything negative that has been left behind by the old system and has emerged for various reasons during the building of the new one, it means popularizing everything positive and everything good accumulated during the building of the new society, as well as the entire real culture bequeathed by past generations and past civilizations.

The Right To Know and To Participate [subhead]

Correspondent: The word "glasnost" is now on everybody's lips, both in our own country and abroad. And as often happens in such cases, its meaning is being "diluted" and becoming vague. All sorts of things are being linked with glasnost—freedom of speech, access to information.... So the question inevitably arises: What can be considered to be the nucleus, the essence of glasnost?

L. Onikov: Glasnost, in my view, is primarily openness in the activity of state and public organizations. It is the USSR citizen's right to know what is being done and how it is being done by the organs of state power, especially at local level, on whose territory he lives. It is his right to attend sessions of these organs, commission sittings, and conferences, and to see for himself decisions and other documents of management organs. According to Lenin, broad glasnost also means the right to free and unhindered access to any unclassified documents, information, and materials concerning the work of a local soviet and its ispolkom and services.

As applied to public organizations—the party, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and others—it means the right of the organization's rank and file members to have access to any unclassified documents and information on the work of leadership and executive organs and their apparatus, to be present whenever possible at any organized events, and so on.

Particular importance attaches to glasnost in the work of elected leadership organs and collegiums. Those elected to membership of these organs must be guaranteed unhindered access to any documents and information in the possession of the executive organ which is subordinate to them according to the constitution or statutes—bureau, committee, ispolkom and their apparatus. It also means an opportunity to attend sessions and meetings with the right to a consultative vote.

According to Lenin, the most important condition for the implementation of glasnost is the existence of normative acts which guarantee glasnost.

It is necessary to mention two incorrect but widely held views which are current at present.

One of them is the identification of "glasnost" with the "provision of information" [informirovaniye]. These are not identical, even though they have much in common. As distinct from glasnost, the provision of information means only the reports carried by mass media and oral propaganda, or the reports on an organ's activity published by the organ itself either in conformity with current regulations or at its own discretion. It is, moreover, obvious that it is simply impossible to supply information on absolutely everything done by a management organ, and that this is hardly necessary, especially if everyone has been given the right to see any unclassified information.

At times the result of the identification of these two terms is that the expansion of the publication of odd bits of occasionally insignificant information creates a semblance of broad glasnost.

Another misconception is that glasnost and secrecy are supposedly mutually exclusive. There are no grounds to contrast the expansion of glasnost on the one hand, and the need for strict adherence to secrecy on the other. The existence of the imperialist system constantly preserves the danger of espionage and subversive activity aimed against the USSR and the other socialist countries, and this demands high vigilance and strict safeguarding of state, military, scientific, production, and technological secrets.

Another feature of Lenin's principle of glasnost is the existence of a list of items of information which are secret. The actual list of such items must be public [glasnyy], but the content of the information must be kept strictly secret and not public [neglasnyy]. Any items of information not appearing on this list are unclassified, in other words public.

Correspondent: This appears correct in theory, but what happened in practice?

L. Onikov: The glasnost principle was most widely applied in the work of state and party organs during the twenties, while V.I. Lenin was still alive. The initial symptoms of a certain curtailment of glasnost appeared soon after his death. This process took a rather contradictory course. At times the serious curtailment of glasnost was replaced by a certain expansion of it, but there was a steady curtailment after 1929. By the mid-thirties, glasnost was virtually reduced to the minimum possible under socialism, and this was typical of the entire period of the Stalin personality cult.

Despite the Civil War and the grim conditions of the recovery period, a course of very broad glasnost was consistently pursued in the country during Lenin's lifetime.

Sittings of guberniya ispolkom sessions were public and open to all who wished to attend. Representatives of factory and plant trade union organizations were invited to attend enlarged volost ispolkom sessions with the right to a consultative vote. The right to broad participation in the work of soviets was enjoyed by representatives of local organizations, plenipotentiaries of settlements and women's meetings, and officials (physicians, teachers, agronomists). Everyone was guaranteed the right to attend rural soviet sessions.

During the twenties the principle of glasnost in party life was applied more widely than ever in the CPSU's entire history. The first statute adopted after the October Revolution envisaged important measures for the expansion of glasnost in the party's activity.

But the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Statute adopted by the 14th congress already contained what appeared to be an insignificant change but one which subsequently had a fatal effect on glasnost. This statute, unlike its predecessor, did not lay down precise schedules for the Central Committee's accountability to local organizations, saying only that the Central Committee "regularly informs" party organizations about its work. Regularity can be taken to mean recurrence over any period of time, from a month to several years.

The main channel of glasnost in the twenties was a regular news publication—the IZVESTIYA of the party Central Committee, which was published in 1919-1929.

The journal was published at various intervals: biweekly in 1920-1921, monthly from 1922 until the middle of 1924, weekly from the middle of 1924 until 1928, and three times a month in 1929.

The journal's main sections were: Publication of Central Committee documents, Central Committee reports, and reports by all Central Committee departments, questions of organizational party work at local level, publication of speeches and articles by leading party figures, and articles and reviews on questions of organizational party work. Lists containing the names of expelled party members were published indicating the reasons why, and there were also reports on the restitution of their party membership—there were quite a few such cases at that time.

Prior to every congress, one issue of the journal was entirely devoted to a detailed annual report on the work of all party Central Committee departments, and the next issue was devoted to a report on the work of the Central Committee itself. The relevant materials, resolutions, and so on were published after the congresses and party conference.

The IZVESTIYA of the party Central Committee, PRAVDA, and the SPRAVOCHNIK PARTIYNOGO RABOTNIKA published **all** resolutions, instructions (apart from secret ones, which represented an insignificant proportion), and other Central Committee materials. There were also instances when they published even the work plans of the Central Committee Politburo and the Central Committee Organizational Bureau.

It is important to note that in those years the publication of Central Committee documents was never duplicated, in other words they could not be simultaneously published by two press organs. But a complete list of all published documents showing their full title, the press organ which published them, and the date of publication was subject to mandatory publication by the IZVESTIYA of the Central Committee.

This practice enabled anyone who wished to do so to see for himself without any difficulty any Central Committee document in which he was interested. This also saved space in publications. In addition to the aforementioned materials, the IZVESTIYA of the Central Committee also systematically published detailed reports or accounts of the work of the AUCCTU and the Komsomol Central Committee, the work done in the Red Army, and conferences held at the Central Committee.

A lot of space was given to materials on the work of local party organizations and their experience and to reports on trips by a number of Central Committee members and senior apparatus officials.

The Central Committee was keenly interested in ensuring that the IZVESTIYA achieved its main objective—to reach all Communists. Issue No 21 of the IZVESTIYA in 1920 noted: There is irrefutable evidence "that circulars, directives, and instructions issued by the Central Committee...are totally unknown to the vast mass of comrades." Consequently, the Central Committee asked all guberniya committees to ensure that "full sets of the IZVESTIYA of the Central Committee, which publishes all Central Committee circulars, are always available for reference and guidance purposes" everywhere, right down to party raykom level.

Furthermore, the Central Committee issued a call: If there are not enough copies, then everything except secret documents ought to be reprinted or even posted up so as "to ensure that every party member is familiar with all Central Committee resolutions and circulars."

This is how the question of glasnost was approached during V.I. Lenin's lifetime. The IZVESTIYA of the Central Committee ceased publication in 1929. The retreat from Lenin's principles in the late twenties began by setting secrecy in opposition to glasnost. Secrecy, especially in party life, started steadily extending to information which, in Lenin's lifetime, was considered perfectly open.

This is one of the little known details of the concealed mechanism of the establishment of the personality cult. The earliest symptoms of this can be detected as far back as 1924, while the turnabout toward the elimination of glasnost dates from 1927. True, there were a few outbursts after that but, to all intents and purposes, an end had already been put to Lenin's principle by the mid-thirties.

Correspondent: We have gotten used to speaking of democracy and glasnost in the same breath. But is democracy possible without glasnost?

L. Onikov: No. Let us look at history. Our social science has only just started studying, and only from a general sociological viewpoint, the preconditions for the formation of the personality cult. But the question of how specifically, by the use of what means, and in what sequence Stalin managed to totally eliminate all the Leninist norms of intraparty democracy, which made possible the fateful events of the late thirties, is a most important scientific problem which remains totally unstudied to this day. The creation of this mechanism **began and became ultimately possible only after the elimination of glasnost.** As glasnost was being methodically curtailed, it became possible to secretly and covertly [neglasno] replace Leninist norms and principles of organizational party work by top-secret normatives concealed from the party mass. On the surface, continuity appeared to be maintained: Terminologically and linguistically, all norms and even many statute provisions under the personality cult sounded and appeared exactly as they had done under Lenin, but their content was at times the direct opposite.

It is extremely indicative that the restoration of Leninist norms began with the real restoration of glasnost—let us recall the Central Committee April 1985 Plenum. Even before that, for the first time after 50 years of silence, the social value of the glasnost principle was mentioned by M.S. Gorbachev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a scientific conference in December 1984.

As I have already said, information, even the most extensive information, does not fully implement the glasnost principle. The important conditions of glasnost are the right to hear others and the right to be heard by others, in other words the right to be present at the work of management organs, to express your point of view to others, and to hear others.

This practice existed in the twenties. The 9th party conference prescribed: "In order to involve rank and file party members in party life, it is desirable that not only guberniya conferences but also plenums of guberniya and local committees on matters not requiring closed sessions be made public for all party members. It is necessary to continue taking the appropriate measures for successful attendance by rank and file party members at sessions of conferences and plenums."

In 1920, having examined the question of the situation within the party, the Politburo decided to organize the publication of "Debate Supplements" in the party press to provide space for articles by the opposition and articles by supporters of the majority.

The Central Committee expressed the wish that similar "Debate Supplements" be created in the IZVESTIYA published by guberniya committees. Once the debate was completed, anthologies containing the most important debate materials were published.

By decision of the Central Committee Politburo, a number of party organizations set up debating clubs, which discussed questions in which the party masses were keenly interested.

Exceptionally great importance attached to the effective right of members of leadership collegial organs and elected party organs to attend sessions of executive organs (bureaus) with the right to a consultative vote. This right was freely exercised by all members of these organs, from the Central Committee to volost [small rural district] committees.

They were also guaranteed broad glasnost in the twenties through unobstructed access to all documents, including secret ones, in the possession of the apparatus of the party committees of which they were members.

An expansion of the availability of information on the domestic situation in the country and the work of management organs at all levels, unprecedented for almost 60 years, occurred following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. The sharpest criticism of existing shortcomings and incorrect actions by officials, including extremely high-ranking ones, and the highlighting of so-called "blank spots" in history became the practice. No zones closed to criticism remained in sociopolitical life. For the first time since the late twenties, the local press provided extensive coverage of party committee plenums which discussed the course of restructuring and were held in a sharply critical spirit. Virtually complete stenographic reports were actually published in many places, something unknown in the past. Nonetheless, in my view the degree of glasnost still falls short of the requirements for society's revolutionary restructuring.

The main reason is that the direct instruction of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum—to fulfill Lenin's demand on the elaboration of legal acts guaranteeing glasnost—has still not been implemented.

There is still no "USSR Law on Glasnost." Its absence has a negative effect primarily on coverage of the soviets' work. This means that many documents concerning questions of glasnost are couched in general terms and contain formulations which are at time reminiscent of wishes rather than mandatory norms to be obeyed. On matters of publications about the work of soviets, the upper hand is often gained by "likes and dislikes," at times depending on the personal opinion of senior soviet officials, traditions, the force of inertia, and so on.

The following example shows where all this can lead. In the past, the SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV journal's department on questions of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet's soviets published reports on local soviets' work annually in its May issue. Despite the need to expand glasnost, the volume of this information is not only not expanding but is constantly contracting. In 1983, for example, the published information occupied 4 journal pages, which declined to 3 in 1984, to 2.5 in 1985, and to only 1.5 in 1986. It occupied even less space last year, and this year...publication ceased altogether.

By no means all the norms of glasnost which operated in V.I. Lenin's lifetime have been restored in the work of party committees. In particular, access by members of superior leadership organs to sessions of party committee bureaus is to this day rigidly regulated by provisions which were introduced during the period of Stalin's personality cult. For example, an obkom member who does not work in the party apparatus—and the majority do not—not only cannot attend obkom bureau sessions unless he is invited, but he cannot attend at his own discretion even sessions of the bureaus of lower-ranking party committees. His access to party committee documents as a source of glasnost is also extremely restricted, and it has not been expanded now.

This situation does not conform with the interests of expanding glasnost or the 27th party congress decisions on boosting the role of leading party organs and the level of collegiality.

Is a New Law Necessary? [subhead]

Correspondent: Our country is now living through a period of active lawmaking. This is easy to explain, since the system of laws is a guarantee of democracy. But a law on glasnost? In the first years of Soviet power, for example, there was no decree on glasnost but glasnost did exist, and in other states it often manages without the support of a special law. Consequently, any regulation of glasnost by law is already a restriction on it, surely?

Yu. Baturin: Glasnost is primarily the product of political culture. If political culture exists, glasnost also exists. If it does not, no law will help you.

The early twenties.... Assessing the situation, V.I. Lenin noted: "Unless we close our eyes to reality, we have to admit that the party's proletarian policy is at present determined not by its membership but by the tremendous and undivided authority of that thinnest of layers which could be called the old party guard." It is not particularly difficult to estimate the size of this "thinnest of layers" of the bearers of high political culture, if we recall that the party had a total membership of only

400,000-500,000. Having eventually almost totally eliminated the old party guard, Stalin also eliminated the breeding ground of glasnost.

And now about practices abroad. In actual fact, nothing like a law on glasnost in the sense that we are talking about exists anywhere in the world. The contemporary legislation of socialist countries looks upon glasnost as a legal institution to be consolidated either by the publication of a series of special laws (on the press, on information control, on work with critical publications), or by the inclusion of glasnost norms in laws regulating the activity of specific organs (representative institutions, management organs, law enforcement organs). The bourgeois countries, whose rich experience in the elaboration of democratic mechanisms must certainly be taken into account, have various laws on freedom of information, access to archives and official documents, and so on. The existing level of political culture renders such an approach adequate.

Regulation is, of course, a form of restriction. But it actually does exist: Current Soviet legislation does contain glasnost norms (Articles 5, 9, 94, and 175 of the USSR Constitution; Articles 2, 18, and others of the USSR Supreme Soviet Standing Orders; Article 3 of the Law on the USSR Council of Ministers, and so on). It is a different matter whether the actual operation of these norms is satisfactory.

It is possible to agree that glasnost as **a principle of the activity** of state and public organizations and other elements of Soviet society's political structure is enshrined in legislation. Moreover, it can even be claimed that glasnost is perceived in our legislation as **a political institution,** as one of the democratic foundations of the functioning of the Soviet political system. Nevertheless, even though they were proclaimed, the glasnost norms were implemented to only a slight extent until the powerful political boost given by April 1985. It is necessary to clearly realize that the process of the rebirth of glasnost has only just begun. The development of democracy today demands new approaches, more specifically defined conditions for the functioning of democratic institutions, and mainly **stronger legal guarantees.** In other words, we need a special juridical mechanism whose task would be to consolidate and augment glasnost.

Correspondent: What are the possible options here?

Yu. Baturin: The publication of a law on secrecy would seem to be the most democratic, proceeding from the principle that "everything not prohibited by law is permitted." But, in my view, it will not prove too effective in the contemporary conditions of society's sociopolitical development, when glasnost must be literally implanted in the activity of state and public organizations and citizens' political and legal culture must be enhanced. Now it is not enough to indicate what cannot be done. It is absolutely necessary to enumerate what is **needed without fail**—our "sore spots." For example, if the rule that "anything that is not prohibited can be done" were to provide the basis of the apparatus' activity, soviets of people's deputies would hardly be able to eliminate the domination of ispolkom apparatus. Yes, there is a lot that we need without fail: Complete and open publication of normative acts and other decisions on questions of state and social life or affecting the rights, duties, and legitimate interests of citizens. The opening up of statistics and archives. Elimination of so-called "special storage facilities." Total glasnost in the election, appointment, and especially the dismissal of leaders from office. Elimination of "zones outside the management" of the USSR Supreme Soviet (for example, inclusion of the work of state security organs in the practice of discussions by its commissions). Openness of state organs and access to officials. Glasnost of public opinion on various issues, including the apparatus' activity. Creation of an effective mechanism for comparing opinions, views, and criticism. Development of socialist pluralism, including toleration for diversity of opinions and guaranteed minority rights. And, to coin a phrase, so on and so forth.

Under this overall approach, the meaning and content of glasnost comprise:

—freedom of speech, public speaking, freedom of the press, real socialist pluralism of opinion, and open comparison of ideas and interests;

—making available to citizens and their associations any information they need to participate in the discussion and solution of questions of state and social life at union, republic, and local level, or information affecting their rights, duties, and legitimate interests;

—openness and accessibility of all organs of power and management and officials to citizens; opportunities for citizens to freely make suggestions and applications to them;

—revelation, study, and consideration of public opinion in the elaboration and making of decisions;

—publication of adopted decisions and notification of such decisions to interested persons and organizations.

Correspondent: Could the legal aspects of glasnost be "distributed" among different laws, as happens in other countries?

Yu. Baturin: It would be expedient to create an effective juridical mechanism to guarantee glasnost within the framework of a special, generalizing law on glasnost. The draft of such a law was elaborated by the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute and was passed on to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium a year ago. The draft enshrined not only the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens and their associations concerning glasnost, but also the corresponding duties of officials and state organs. Provision is also made for responsibility for breaches of the legislation on glasnost. So if such a law were to be adopted, it could be expected to be really effective rather than merely rhetorical.

I believe that such a law is necessary also as a provisional measure against the background of current political culture. Provided today's political trends do not change, the need for it will have disappeared in about 20-30 years' time. For example, booster rockets in modern flying machines are jettisoned once they have done their job. But before this can be done, our glasnost "booster" must "place in orbit" and coordinate the effect of a series of special laws.

Let me list a few of them.

The USSR Law on Nationwide (People's) Discussion of Important Questions of State has already been adopted, but the law on referendums envisaged by Article 5 of the USSR Constitution has yet to appear, 11 years on.

A draft law on press and other mass media, which has taken countless forms, has been under discussion—not openly but backstage—for many years.

In the context of the appearance and emerging wide application of new technical varieties of information systems (computer systems, data banks), and in order to safeguard the rights of individuals and the property rights of organizations and the procedure of their activity, it would be expedient to elaborate norms on the protection of information in such systems.

State secrets present another boundary. The greatest arbitrariness with regard to glasnost probably occurs in this sphere today, because the existing list of information comprising state secrets is itself secret. I think that state security interests demand the division of classified information into state secrets and industrial secrets, and the elaboration of clear-cut criteria for classification and declassification.

The legislative regulation of glasnost must also be subject to a different kind of limit. It would be undemocratic if the state were to dictate to public organizations how to organize their work. Glasnost in public organizations' internal life is regulated by their statutes (regulations) and other intra-organization acts. But public organizations must be given and guaranteed the right to receive from state organs information affecting the rights, duties, and legitimate interests of these organizations and their members, and their relevant activity under their statutes. It is also necessary to oblige public funds created through citizens' monetary contributions to publish in the press, either at regular intervals or once their target has been reached, detailed accounts of the expenditure of funds they have received.

The party is the supreme form of sociopolitical organization, and therefore the law should not prescribe to the CPSU any forms or methods for the implementation of glasnost. Party glasnost must be regulated by political norms and the party statute.

The draft law on the USSR state archives was prepared in such secrecy that even many archive service officials knew nothing about it. Its current status is also shrouded in secrecy.

We also need a legal act on the procedure for holding rallies and demonstrations....

For as long as we have censorship, there must also be an open law on censorship. We are accustomed to talking about the arbitrariness of the autocracy. In actual fact, however, all decrees on censorship in Russia—from the 1804 decree, the most liberal of all subsequent ones, to the 1826 one which stood out with its exceptional harshness, and even the regulations on military censorship—were openly published. But in our country it is virtually impossible to even mention the Main Administration for Safeguarding State Secrets in the Press.

Finally, we need a law on secrets. Yes indeed, an actual law on secrets whose future purpose would be to fully implement the principle of "anything which is not prohibited is permitted." There is no need to suppose that such a law would clash with the law on glasnost and would greatly restrict it. On the contrary, the more accurately we define the borderline of secrecy and the less subjectivism there is when defining the limits of glasnost, the better it will be for glasnost. Generally speaking, glasnost cannot be unlimited. Would you like details of your personal life to be known to millions? Therefore, there must be secrecy of private life, and this already places a limit on glasnost. What do you think, are we to open up the secrets of physicians, lawyers, notaries public, judges' consultations, deposits in savings banks, adoptions, correspondence, telephone conversation, and telegraph communications between citizens?

It is necessary to accurately define the criteria of party secrecy. In view of its agenda, the 19th all-union party conference will obviously discuss the problems of glasnost. It is, however, not enough to merely formulate the general objective of the policy of glasnost, its meaning and content, and its limits; it is also necessary to map out a course of maximum openness in the Soviet political system and its individual structures. Glasnost needs one more accelerator or, if you like, "booster." The party must take on the role of not only initiator of the policy of glasnost but also its leader. I think there is need for a special CPSU Central Committee resolution on glasnost within the party, which would examine in detail the questions of party secrecy, pluralism of opinion, availability of information, consideration of party members' opinion, openness and accessibility of party organs and party apparatus officials, and publication of party decisions.

Historical experience shows that glasnost proved fragile without such legal guarantees. Our objective is ensure that the democratic transformations become irreversible.

Moral Duty of Communists Discussed
PM2206145588 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 Jun 88 p 1

[Article by V. Tsybulskiy, deputy editor of the Party Life Department, under the "Topical Theme" rubric: "Party Membership Is a Moral Category"]

[Text] Three years ago the party found within itself the courage to self-critically and openly evaluate the situation created within it and thereby essentially unambiguously make its choice—today it simply cannot accept any path other than fundamental change. There is no way back—that is the main theme of the unprecedented amount of mail sent to the editorial office on the 19th party conference in response to the publication of the Central Committee Theses. Sharp and polemical, incisive, frank, and concerned they may be, but readers' most diverse opinions are united on one thing: The real and not "ritualistic" authority of party organizations, their authority as leaders of the radical changes and renewal is one of the most important conditions of the success of restructuring.

"What do we ordinary citizens of the Land of the Soviets expect from the party conference?" I. Matveyev from Kuybyshev writes. "To preserve our faith in the party—that is the main thing." "There must be a special discussion at the conference on the authority of the communist in our country and abroad," Yu. Andreyev from Angarsk writes, supporting him.

Readers' particular instructions and wishes to the 19th all-union party conference show what in their opinion should be done first of all: It is necessary to create guarantees precluding the violation of Leninist principles of the party leadership of society. They expect the conference to provide concrete answers to questions vital for restructuring. In this connection they also sound notes of dissatisfaction: Together with the general approval of the line and thrust of the party conference's work there is also the reproach that the theses "lack specificity." Many people simply do not realize that this document is merely a platform for discussion.

The most consistent and specific demands during the discussion of the Central Committee Theses are for the restriction of the power of the party apparatus and for the establishment of the monitoring of it not only by elected organs but also by Communists themselves working in city, rayon, and oblast party organizations—through the election of party leaders and the opportunity to assess their work and recall those who have not justified the trust placed in them. It goes without saying that these proposals are dictated not by the letterwriters' personal attitude toward a given secretary but once again by a concern for the fate of democratization and the implementation of the party's course. Democratization is incompatible with the system whereby accountability to superior workers is the most important consideration and the opinion of subordinates can be disregarded, a system which tolerates alienation from labor collectives' concerns and problems and creates in some apparatus members a desire to "build" a career. And it is a very bad matter when many people identify this system with the entire party. This is clearly due to the fact that for many years the apparatus of party committees identified itself (and we all became accustomed to this) with the actual committee and through them with the entire party. We all ceased to notice statements of the type "the raykom has decided....", "the obkom has decided." Indeed, it is not the obkom or the raykom which decided, the decision originated in a department of the apparatus. Supplanting has taken place.

Here is what I. Doktorova, a teacher from Kharkov, writes on this score: "What is the difference today between a party member and a nonparty person? Just one thing—a party member can occupy a leading post. If you strip him of that advantage and establish equal rights between them in the election and appointment of the leadership, it would accelerate the process of cleansing the party and consequently would enhance its prestige." "The preference given to party members sometimes goes to absurd lengths," C. Verein, a driver from Moscow, believes. "Any driver will tell you that the most prestigious and profitable work for us is intercity freight haulage. But when people are being hired for this work it is no professional qualities which count but a 'clean' record and party membership."

All this is the consequence, as the party Central Committee Theses note, of the outmoded formal and nomenklatura-based approach to the selection and placement of cadres. But it will not be easy to overcome party apparatuses' habit of resolving cadre questions in this way. The recommendation to promote nonparty people to leading posts was made 18 months ago at the January Central Committee Plenum but has still not been given widespread support in the practical work of party apparatuses at local level.

Recent sociopolitical practice shows that, given due activeness by the Communists of primary organizations and their elected organs in labor collectives, the fact that a leader does not belong to the party will not be a serious obstacle in the work of restructuring. The experience of electing delegates to the party conference and the struggle to nominate real supporters of restructuring have shown that, by using their real political rights, Communists are capable of resolving all questions by themselves without instructions from above. Including, for instance, the question of the leadership of the labor collective. It is not obligatory to summon a leader who has made a mess of things to the party committee bureau and make him accountable to the party (such measures are indeed unacceptable with regard to a leader who is not a party member). This can be done by the labor collective council. By acting democratically through the labor collective and and applying the Law on the Socialist Enterprise it is possible to help people to elect leaders, to call them to account, and to replace those who have not proved up to the job.

"The main method of party committees' work," the party Central Committee Theses note, "must be to organize the training and retraining of cadres, to educate them, and to nominate both Communists and nonparty people to leading posts. Election results must be the final arbiter in the solution of cadre questions." The role and place of primary party organizations and rank and file Communists in the fundamentally new approaches to the cadre questions need to be clarified and explained.

Restructuring within the party should produce fundamental and resolute changes primarily with a view to democratizing it and to enhancing the Communist's role, prestige, and rights in it. The restriction of those rights led to deviations from and violations of the Leninist course in party work. "What has this to do with the party?" asks Yu. Karapetyan from Kiev, listing certain deviations from the Leninist line. "After all, rank and file party members had even fewer rights and were even more helpless than nonparty people." P. Aleksanov from Moscow seeks the cause in the deliberately distorted and bureaucratically interpreted basic principle of building and organizing the work of the party—the principle of democratic centralism: "For too long centralism prevailed over democracy in the party. Alternatives and options in the elaboration of the party line were disregarded not only under Stalin but in subsequent years, too. Of course, there must be no factions or groupings in the party. But the resolution 'On Party Unity' adopted at V.I. Lenin's proposal by the 10th Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) Congress did not mean that there would be no free discussion within the party of the most important questions of policy. However, the alternative approach to the elaboration of the political line was not developed either."

The unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority is the essence of the fundamental principle of party building. It is a perfectly democratic requirement but was it possible to put it into practice in the party given the existence of administrative-edict methods of management? Given that the leaders of party committees were not elected but effectively appointed and given elected organs which were formed by apparatuses without any real participation by the party masses? The most frequent demand was for a daily show of loyalty to the apparatus. The important thing here was not the result of work but the process of subordination. The authority of the apparatus, based on the actual right to decide, increased perhaps. The authority of the party, however, fell.

...Increasingly the editorial office is receiving mail with proposals addressed to the party conference and containing a concrete analysis of the Central Committee Theses. People phone in or call up to offer their proposals and views. But these are different from the letters and proposals of a month ago. Because these people are different from they way they were then. Our own experience of the first political actions, the experience of overcoming the antidemocratic traditions of the period of stagnation, and the struggle of new democratic forces change us ourselves.

The realities of politics and morality in relations among Communists merge into an integrated whole and breed a strength capable of accomplishing truly revolutionary transformations. Let us recall that until quite recently someone who habitually raised his hand in support of another's decision or for a sole candidate for a leading post would scarcely have been condemned by his party comrades. But today if you adopt such a "stance" in a dubious situation created by pressure, contrary to the will of Communists, they may not even offer you their hand when you meet. Party membership is becoming a moral criterion.

Briefs

Armenian Womens' Organization

Yerevan, 18 June (TASS)—The Armenian Republican Womens' Council intends to present for discussion by Armenian public its program "Woman" [zhenshchina]. This new public organization of the Soviet Trans-Caucasian republic wishes, as its leader Nora Akopyan said to become "partner of the state in the implementation of social policy." (Nora Akopyan) a 50-year-old Communist and deputy of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet, for many years has been heading the board of the republican Society for friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. She now heads the board of the new council which comprises from 90 women of various ages, professions, and social position. "The role and importance of public organizations in the political life of the USSR is growing in the period of restructuring and demoncratization," she told a TASS correspondent. "Our womens' organization plans to participate in the cause of revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society by rejecting bureaucratic dogmas and formalism." [Text] [*LD1906034488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0557 GMT 18 Jun 88*]

Kazakh Education Minister

The Presidium of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet has decreed that Comrade Shaysultan Shayakhmetov be appointed minister of people's education of the Kazakh SSR. [Text] [*LD2306022188 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 21 Jun 88*]

Economic

Abalkin News Conference on Management Reform

LD2406094188 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 24 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 24 TASS—The process of change-over to a new mechanism of economic management is now under way in the Soviet Union at all levels—from each work collective and right up to top echelons of economic management, stated Academician Leonid Abalkin, director of the Institute of Economics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He took part in today's meeting with journalists on the subjects "The course of realisation of a radical economic reform in the Soviet Union". The meeting took place at the press centre of the 19th all-union party conference.

"The economic management reform being effected in the USSR is not a one-off act or campaign but a long process of radical changes", Academician Abalkin pointed out, recalling that preparations for the reform had been made for 2-2.5 years.

"Over the period an economic situation was estimated. A search for ways to take the Soviet economy out of the hard situation was in progress, and a concept of reform, its main directions, principles, and phases were worked out".

Serious changes affecting deep foundations of management, including a change of basic economic relationships, began about a year ago. "We are now in the second phase of the reform when a transition from the elaboration of concepts and decision making to a massive, comprehensive mastering of new principles of management is under way", the Soviet expert said.

In his view, the current phase will continue for about three years. Within the period, enterprises and amalgamations of all sectors should be switched over to the new management conditions. A new integrated economic system, with which the Soviet Union will enter the 1990s, will take shape". "This does not mean at all that the reform will be completed: on the contrary, a new phase will follow", Academician Abalkin pointed out.

The scientist emphasized that the economic management reform is a struggle between the old managerial patterns and methods, stereotypes of thinking inherited from the past and new principles of management. "This is a quite natural process. The seriousness of the struggle between renewal and conservatism is an indicator of the depth and radicalness of the projected transformations, for it is a question of radical changes in the economy and the system of management", Leonid Abalkin maintains.

Problems of Poverty, Living Standard Discussed

WA18200203 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Mariya Anatolyevna Mozhina, candidate of economic sciences and associate in the Department of Standard of Living Problems in the Central Economics-Mathematical Institute in Moscow, by Ye. Kolesnikova: "Who Is Behind the Boundary of Poverty?"—first two paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] Annually USSR Goskomstat investigates 62,OOO families in various cities, chosen at random. For 12 months in a row, housewives write down in a fat notebook the family's incomes and expenditures, down to the last kopeck. Then the computer center processes these household ledgers, and statistics on the family budget of an average inhabitant of the country are issued: how much he earns, where he spends his money, what he saves for....

But just as a doctor cannot judge the conditions of a sick person according to the average temperature of the patients in the entire hospital, it is difficult, using statistical data, to represent the citizen for whom everything is average—wages, housing, the number of children. What about the people standing on the sides of the imaginary boundary line designating the average standard of living? Our correspondent Ye. Kolesnikova discusses this with candidate of economic sciences and associate in the department of problems of the standard of living at the Central Economic-Mathematical Institute M. Mozhina.

[Kolesnikova] Mariya Anatolyevna: As soon as talk turns to the quality of life, we without fail cite its average level. With knowledge of the matter, we discuss in which countries it is high and where it is low. But no one is even able to explain whtat this concept signifies. Is it the amount of goods per capita? Food products? Automobiles?

[Mozhina] Probably it's a little of everything—consumer goods, food products, and even entertainment. There are many indicators and each of them reflects the standard of living in its own way. Just as all musical compositions are made of of 7 notes, 10 numbers are enough to make up many models, according to various characteristics of our life.

[Kolesnikova] But apparently there are some general criteria?

[Mozhina] Economists take as the basis the amount of money per each member of a family, whether he is a pensioner or a child. Simply speaking, they divide the family income among the number of mouths to feed. The result, 125 rubles per month, reflects the average standard of living.

[Kolesnikova] But is every second person in our country guaranteed this?

[Mozhina] The average does not at all signify this. On the contrary, more than half the population of our country is below this line. One out of five people is on the verge of poverty, earning about 70 rubles a month.

[Kolesnikova] Is it possible to survive on this?

[Mozhina] It has been calculated that in order to satisfy the need for vitamins, fats, proteins and other necessary food nutrients it is possible to survive on 33 rubles a month. Subtract 33 from 7O. With the remaining sum it is necessary to dress, pay for housing, buy a few trifles without which one cannot manage, to have guests, go to the theater....

[Kolesnikova] Even a confirmed ascetic could not manage on such a sum.... In my opinion, one ought not even to dream about the theater in this situation.

[Mozhina] Sociologists confirm that one out of every 10 people cannot make it from paycheck to paycheck and they need to borrow. A quarter of the population cannot put aside even a ruble, they spend their salary on the most necessary items. Studying poor families, we count 4 social groups where income for one person is less than R7O. The first and most numerous are pensioners. The majority of single old men, retiring on a pension in their 6O's, simply live in poverty. Their monthly income is less than R5O. Therefore they become poorer from year to year. First of all, there is a relative reason. The wages of working people grow but a pensioner's income level is "frozen." Secondly, there is an absolute reason. Cheap goods are imperceptibly disappearing. As economists say, their assortment is being "washed away."

[Kolesnikova] But several years ago the minimum pension was raised. In addition, some pensioners earn additional money. Along with their pension they receive a base pay. How did they turn up in the poverty group?

[Mozhina] Pensions did rise, but this addition quickly gave way to the growth in prices. As a result the average purchasing power of pensioners remained as before. There is one thing to be done—to create a system of additional payments under which the amount of pensions would rise in accordance with the growth of the average standard of living. It is important to retain the constant difference between average incomes and the minimum pension.

[Kolesnikova] But working pensioners receive 1 1/2 times more than the regular workers. Doesn't this contracdict the principle of payment for labor, as well as the very concept of a pension—that society should support those who cannot work any more?

[Mozhina] Understand that those who receive "double" pay are mainly those who have recently left work. There are still not many, and it does not even influence Central Asian indicators. Nonetheless, many economists categorically oppose such payment. New pension legislation is now being prepared and, I hope, it will eliminate the contradictions. It is more reasonable, in my view, to handle it this way: While a pensioner works, he receives only a salary. But for each year he works above the "norm", an addition will be added to his future pension. At the expense of the money which we give to pensioners it would be possible to increase grants to the second poverty group—young families with children.

[Kolesnikova] Now a mother raising an infant receives a grant from the state during the course of a year. But simple arithmetic shows that the arrival of a child sharply thrusts a woman, receiving, let us say, more than R2O0, into the poverty category. Does this also influence the decreased birth rate which worries demographers?

[Mozhina] Of course, grants should be differentiated depending on the size of salary. Let us say, for example, that R35 would be the guaranteed minimum and the "ceiling" R7O or RIOO. Then creative women, enthusiastic about work, will be able to have a second or third child. Society thus officially recognizes their social significance, even when they stay at home temporarily.

[Kolesnikova] Sociologists discuss the fact that men are becoming more "feminine", but do economists place any particular hopes in them as the family breadwinners. This particularly follows from your idea about increasing the grants to nonworking mothers.

[Mozhina] On the average, a man earns about 1 1/2 more than a woman. But you are right—the third poverty group consists of families where the fathers earn little. The majority of them are trying to improve the material status of the family—from engineers they become workers, they find a situation which is not in their speciality, more often in the service sphere. Or, leaving the family for a time, they go to work in the North. The development of cooperatives opens up more possibilities to earn extra money. Correspondingly, this poverty group will decrease.

[Kolesnikova] Even a beginning painter know how much the portrait depends on the background. But we, it seems, are looking at "cases" and not paying attention to the surroundings. Perhaps the poverty categories which you have defined simply look this way against the background of a small stratum of people with high incomes: After all, 7 out of 8 citizens of our country do not have savings. Only 1/8 of the population possesses all the deposits in the sum of more than R25O billion. I am afraid that the stratification will increase. Despite the progressive taxation of cooperatives, it is possible to earn superprofits, inflating prices for goods in short supply. They have not succeeded in satiating the market yet.

[Mozhina] Yes, cooperatives live according to the law of the market and depend first of all upon buyers. But even if we like the goods very much, we will not buy them at a very high price. It is not worth fearing high wages—it is impossible to have a rich state with a poor population. The more people start to earn, the more significant will be their deductions into the social consumption fund for healthcare, housing, education.

[Kolesnikova] But the benefits of these funds are not distributed equally. The quality of apartments, kindergartens, sanatoria and polyclinics depends directly on the "solidity" of the department to which they belong. Making identical deductions into the social consumption fund, workers from different organizations receive in exchange far from equal benefits.

[Mozhina] Unfortunately, many years have distorted the interpretation of social equality, based on naked leveling. Everyone, they say, ought to live equally well, independent of their capabilites, qualifications or labor contribution. Now economists contend that only rights should be identical. Without an understanding of this, the social-economic progress of society is impossible. And departmentalism, of course, must gradually be renounced. Sociological research shows that the emphasis in distributing free benefits from the social consumption fund goes to the more highly payed groups. It must be the opposite.

[Kolesnikova] Maria Anatolyevna, we have not reached the fourth poverty group. Who is in it?

[Mozhina] Single mothers. But I think this is first of all a social and moral problem, and only then an economic one. It is not discussed very much in the press. In conclusion, I would like to recall that we began with a number, characterizing the standard of living. And if our conversation showed the reader that this average number not only covers up, but also conceals the situation, that is already no small matter.

Agricultural

Murakhovskiy Attends VASKHNIL Meeting

PM2306114188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Jun 88 p 2

[V. Shaykin report: "The Scientific Concept of the Development of the Non-Chernozem Region. Annual Meeting of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences"]

[Excerpts] Are we managing agriculture in the RSFSR non-Chernozem region appropriately and developing the whole agro-industrial complex there as we should? On what scientific concept is this work based? This problem was submitted for discussion at the annual meeting of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKHNIL], held in Moscow 13-15 June this year. It was attended by scientists, chiefs and staffers from institutes, science-and-production associations, and USSR and republic Gosagroproms, and ministry, department, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz officials.

The correct substantiation and solution of this key question is of decisive importance not only for this large region but for the country as a whole and for the acceleration of our society's socioeconomic progress, VASKHNIL President, Academician A.A. Nikonov, emphasized in his report. [passage omitted]

The annual meeting also heard the report of Academician V.I. Nazarenko, chief academic secretary of the VASKHNIL Presidium, about the results of the Academy's work in 1987 and introduced amendments and addenda to the VASKHNIL Statutes. A resolution was adopted.

The session was attended by V.S. Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.P. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Yu.I. Mordvintsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department.

Nikonov Speech Chides Chelyabinsk Farmers

PM2306200188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 16 Jun 88 pp 1,3

[TASS report on Secretary Nikonov's Speech at the Chelyabinsk Party-Economic Aktiv Meeting: "The Times Demand Specific Results"]

[Excerpt] Chelyabinsk, 15 Jun—A principled and committed discussion and an exacting analysis of ways to enhance the intensification of agro-industrial complex sectors took place today at the meeting of the party-economic aktiv which considered the question of the tasks of party, soviet, and economic organs in improving food supplies to the oblast's population.

Participants were addressed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

From a whole range of problems, he said, the party has singled out some which must be attended to first and foremost, that is the food problem, the housing problem, and the problem of providing the population with essential goods and services. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo is constantly considering questions relating to ways of increasing food production and improving food supplies to the population.

Chelyabinsk Oblast ranks among the most highly industrialized regions. At the same time it is also a major agricultural oblast. The development of industry objectively demands a considerable intensification of agriculture. This demand is all the more urgent since, for a number of years now, the population's requirements for basic foodstuffs have not been met from own production here. Incidentally, these basic products are having to be supplied in constantly increasing quantities from state resources. For instance, during only 3 of the past 7 years did the inhabitants of Chelyabinsk not draw on the bread subsidy. The oblast meets only 70 percent of its requirement for meat products and only 72 percent of its requirement for dairy products. The task is to ensure the region's self-sufficiency in foodstuffs which can be grown and produced locally.

How was it possible for a situation to arise where an oblast which has almost 5 million hectares of agricultural land, including 3.2 million hectares of arable land, is incapable of feeding 3.6 million people? After all, there is almost 1 hectare of arable land per head of population while this figure in the country as a whole is only 0.8 hectares. This means that some people have to work harder in order to subsidize the inhabitants of Chelyabinsk oblast with basic food products.

But maybe the oblast has curbed its consumption in view of this situation? Nothing of the kind! Last year per capita meat and meat product consumption totalled 70 kg against only 63 kg in the country as a whole. The figures for milk were 374 and 340 kg, respectively.

What is the reason for this situation? The answer to this question was provided by the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat when it discussed the obkom report in November 1987. The resolution emphasized that the standard of the organizational and political work of the party obkom and the oblispolkom in the development of the agro-industrial complex does not correspond to the crucial tasks of intensification in this sector aimed at bringing about an improvement of food supplies to the population on this basis. This is the case despite the fact that vast sums of money have been allocated to the development of the agrarian sector and also to finance cities' assistance to the countryside. State and kolkhoz capital investments during the 10th and 11th 5-Year Plan and the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan total R4.3 billion. Fixed capital in agriculture had risen by 60 percent at the end of 1987 compared with the 1980 level.

And the returns? Gross agricultural output grew much more slowly than capital investments, and as a result had increased by only 2 percent in 1987, compared with average annual output during the 11th 5-Year Plan, and compared with 1986 it had actually gone down by 11 percent. The plans for the sales of grain, potatoes, and vegetables to the state were not fulfilled. The volume of purchases of these crops has decreased.

It is true that of late some positive changes have taken place in the production and procurement of livestock produce. The 2-year plan for the production of milk, meat, eggs, and wool was fulfilled. Compared with the 11th 5-Year Plan, purchases of livestock and poultry have increased by 19 percent, of milk by 13 percent, and of eggs by 14 percent. However, even here the situation is not stable.

The key role in the implementation of the Food Program belongs to the development of grain production. However, most unfortunately, grain production has been steadily declining in the oblast. The average grain output over the last 7 years was lower than it was 20 years ago. Both, the areas sown and yields have decreased.

Why is it not possible, for instance, to meet the population's requirements for buckwheat which, given the right treatment, produces good yields? The oblast is also importing all its starch, soured milk products, vegetable oil, and many other crop farming products. Meanwhile, crop rotation is in use on farms only on 87 percent of the land. Soil treatment is unsatisfactory. Only 3-4 tonnes of organic fertilizer are applied per hectare of arable land. Every year poor-quality seeds, mostly brought in from other regions, are sown. Intensive techniques for the cultivation of grain and other crops have failed to produce the estimated effect. The yields of wheat cultivated in accordance with these techniques have exceeded average yields by only 1.5 quintal per hectare in 1986, and even less—1.1 quintal per hectare in 1987—while average increase indicators elsewhere in the country amount 11-12 quintals.

There are 87,600 hectares of irrigated land on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. However, the use of this land is poor.

The speaker dwelt on problems concerning feed production. The party obkom and the agroprom have drawn up "Feed" and "Protein" programs. There are corresponding programs in the rayons. Over the past few years the structure of sowings has been improved and on the whole brought in line with scientific crop cultivation. Areas allocated for feed cultivation have been enlarged, especially the areas under annual grasses grown for haylage. The areas allocated to promising feed crops are being enlarged, albeit very slowly, and rape and turnip rape sowings have been expanded.

The measures that have been adopted have made it possible in recent years to increase feed procurement to some extent. However, no substantial changes as regards the quantity or quality of feeds have been achieved. Annually a third of the farms lays in fewer than 15 quintals of feed units per head of livestock. Progressive methods have not found wide application in feed procurement. The organization of the work to enhance feed quality is particularly poor. The content of digestible protein in cattle feed rations totals only 90 percent or less of the norm. This is resulting in a very great overconsumption of feeds, especially grain.

The prevailing situation in crop farming, and especially grain and feed production, is having a negative effect on the development of livestock raising—the leading sector of the agro-industrial complex. Here, the headway that has been made is being allowed to slip away. For instance, this year less milk and meat has been procured than over the same period in 1987. The numbers of all types of livestock, and especially cows, are decreasing. The number of cattle had decreased by more than 20,000 head by 1 May, including 7,000 cows. The number of hogs had decreased by more than 6,000 and of sheep by 22,500.

Dwelling on personal plots, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized that they account for 23 percent of gross agricultural output in the oblast. However, the reserves for the development of this sector are great since 28 percent of the small holdings still have no livestock.

One of the main reasons for this is the insufficient assistance provided to the population by kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the shape of feeds and young livestock and poultry. For instance, in 1987 only 83,500 piglets were sold, meeting less than 50 percent of the requirement.

The enormous benefits provided by industrial enterprises' subsidiary farms are well known. Unfortunately, over the past 2 years, production on these farms has virtually not increased, and even decreased as regards a number of indicators. Of the 437 major industrial enterprises only 210 have subsidiary farms.

No use is made of the potential for production sharing between kolkhozes and sovkhozes and industrial enterprises which could, jointly, on a contract basis, develop the production of food products, part of which would go to improve the food supplies of enterprise collectives. So far there are only six such cooperatives. Yet the potential inherent in this form of production is vast!

Agro-industrial complex processing sectors are assuming special importance, V.P. Nikonov said further. The task now is to eliminate the shortage of agricultural produce storage facilities within the next 1-2 years, and to carry out a radical retooling of the food and processing industry on a modern scientific and technical basis within the next 2-3 years.

Party, soviet, and economic organs have taken certain steps in this direction. A number of industrial enterprises are tackling the production of individual types of equipment and the reconstruction of food production units. They have embarked on the production of 20 types of different automatic equipment and machinery. However, these are only the first, very timid steps. Much more is expected of an industrial oblast. Yet the situation in the agro-industrial complex sectors remains very alarming. Most meat combines, dairies, and many bakeries in Chelyabinsk, Magnitogorsk, Miass, and Zlatoust are in an utterly neglected state and their capacities are inadequate. The overall picture is as follows: Some 54 of the oblast's 124 processing enterprises are located in adapted premises, the technical and sanitary state of 30 is unsatisfactory, and 32 lack purification installations.

The material base of the canning industry is extremely poor. There are only seven small, seasonally-operated canning shops in the oblast. As a result, only 4 percent of the requirement for canned fruit and vegetables is covered by local production. Over the past 2 years no new capacities for meat processing and cheese production have been commissioned and the oblast agroprom has fullfilled the 1986-1990 target for the commissioning of dairy production capacities and potato and vegetable storage facilities only 11 and 13 percent respectively.

Deeply rooted attitudes of dependance are characteristic of many leaders and this is hampering the quest for ways to increase the production of foodstuffs through better utilization of local potential.

Even products like canned cabbage soup, horseradish, lettuce, dill, and beets are imported. All this could and should be grown and produced locally.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary analyzed the state of the economy and the social aspects of the development of the countryside. The extremely unsatisfactory results of financial and economic activity, he emphasized, are a consequence of the poor organization of economic work in kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the weak leadership of the entire agro-industrial complex by the party obkom.

In November of last year the CPSU Central Committee examined the question of serious shortcomings in the work of Chelyabinsk Oblast party, soviet, and economic organs in mastering the economic factors of the intensification of livestock raising. A harsh but objective appraisal was made. The CPSU Central Committee resolution was discussed at CPSU obkom, gorkom, and raykom plenums and at kolkhoz and sovkhoz party meetings. Measures to ensure the implementation of the resolution were drawn up. However, the main thing is to ensure that all these measures are backed up with appropriate practical efforts. Only then is it possible to expect positive results.

It is necessary now to make it absolutely clear to people that economic accountability, production sharing, and the various forms of contract, especially the lease contract, are the main levers of enhanced efficiency in agriculture. Care must, however, be taken to avoid stereotypes and formalism. What is actually happening? Last year it was thought that 71 percent of subunits in crop farming and livestock raising were using the collective contract, had introduced economic accountability, and used the checkbook form of monitoring expenditure. The results showed that less than one-third of these collectives had reduced their expenditure and almost half the collectives overspent. Milk yields in contract teams barely differed from the rest. And the situation as a whole deteriorated rather than improved. What sort of management is this?

It is too early to expect results from the work that has been carried out during the winter to introduce economic accountability and the lease contract; however, the results of the first quarter are causing concern. Above-plan expenditure totaled R45 million. The prime cost of milk and of livestock weight gains has increased. On a number of farms the introduced markups on purchasing prices are used to cover current costs and farm managers have no idea how they will finance production expansion. Farms' debts as a result of Gosbank loans are increasing. During the first quarter they increased by R32 million to total R1.7 billion.

The poor standard of economic work and the absence of proper efforts to improve the financial situation is also reflected in the fact that subsidiary trades are virtually not being developed in the oblast. Only 11 farms engage in this work and the total volume of output sales in this sphere totaled only R262,000 in 1987.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary cited insufficient attention to the housing problem as one of the reasons for the unsatisfactory situation within the agro-industrial complex. On average 3-15 apartments per farm are commissioned annually in the oblast's villages. This is very little. An addition, the standard of amenities is low. Only 30-40 percent of the housing stock are provided with water, central heating, and sewerage, and only 8 percent are provided with hot water.

The plan for the commissioning of children's preschool establishment is not fulfilled year after year. The material base of rural schools needs to be substantially improved. More than half of them are located in non-standard premises, do not have a water supply, central heating, or sewerage.

Cities can and must provide substantial assistance in improving social and consumer service conditions in the countryside. It is necessary to proceed systematically and on a long-term basis. The farms, in turn, must not adopt a passive attitude, they must do a great deal for themselves, especially as regards the planting of trees and shrubs and the provision of amenities and their maintenance in a proper and sanitary condition. All these shortcomings in the social development of the countryside are directly reflected in the dwindling population figures of the past years.

There are 27 cities and 29 city-type population centers in the oblast. Around 320,000 people, or 8 percent of the total population, are working on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Over the past 15 years 667 villages have disappeared. During this time 106,000 people have moved away from the countryside. The main reason for this situation is social underdevelopment. The way of life in the countryside differs substantially from that in the cities. The standard of trade, medical, consumer, and other types of services available to the rural population is 2-4 times lower than in the cities. This is why the exodus of workers and specialists from the countryside is so great. Of 40,000 agricultural specialists in the oblast only 13,000 are working in their own specialist area, the remainder are employed in industry or other sectors of the national economy, as a rule in cities.

In this region there are many major enterprises which can and must provide assistance to the countryside in the provision of equipment and social facilities. In actual fact party gorkoms and enterprise managers are not doing enough to this end. Only individual collectives in Magnitogorsk and some other cities are showing understanding for the needs of the countryside.

It is well-known that the agroprom has inherited a dilapidated processing industry. It seems that this sector should be tackled in a joint effort by cities and the agro-industrial complex and restored so as to provide the population with more high-grade products. But this is not happening. In Chelyabinsk, for instance, two dairies are producing just seven types of dairy products using antediluvian production techniques and obsolete equipment, while leading enterprises in this sector produce as many as 60 different types of products.

Or take technical assistance to the countryside, for instance. In accordance with their pledges, industrial enterprise are expected to produce R5 million worth of machinery and equipment this year, including R2 million worth of equipment for the processing industry. However, not all the orders have as yet been placed with enterprises. This does little to meet the situation which has developed in the oblast in respect of the solution of the food problem. Clearly, people here are still trying to improve food supplies to the urban population by means of imports from other parts of the country.

It must not be forgotten that the cities siphoned off labor resources from the countryside and created comfortable living conditions for this manpower. Meanwhile the living conditions of people in the countryside declined steadily. People chose to leave the hard work and socially disadvantaged life behind. Now the time has come to repay to the rural population the debts on the basis of which the industrial potential and the social amenities of the cities were built. The situation demands a harmonious development of cities and the countryside. Party and economic leaders in Magnitogorsk and the surrounding rural rayons who have drawn up a program for the development of agricultural production to a level of complete satisfaction of the population of this major industrial center with foodstuffs are acting correctly.

Dwelling on work with cadres, the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out miscalculations in the selection and deployment of managers, specialists, and farm party organization secretaries. So, during the 11th

5-Year Plan 70 percent of managers and all party committee secretaries have been replaced. This practice is continuing even now. Understandably, there have to be changes since there are quite a few cases were people have been in charge of a certain sector for years despite the fact that it went from wreck to ruin. On the other hand, cadre leap-frogging is not likely to produce good results either. At the same time low exactingness toward farm managers and specialists in respect of their insufficient knowledge of new forms of labor organization and remuneration especially as regards the contract method, and their personal participation in the introduction of everything that is new and progressive was noted. Few contract collectives here are headed by sovkhoz and kolkhoz specialists.

Soviet people and Communists are discussing the CPSU Central Committee Theses for the 19th All-Union Party Conference with great interest and putting forward many proposals and suggestions. Essentially, the whole nation is working out the decisions which will be adopted by the conference. It is the task of party organizations and Communists, V.P. Nikonov emphasized in conclusion, to back and develop people's high political activeness and channel it into improving the performance of every enterprise, kolkhoz, and sovkhoz. [passage omitted]

Scientific

'Cosmos-1956' Satellite Launched 23 Jun

LD2306133688 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—The Soviet Union today launched an earth satellite of the Cosmos series using a Soyuz booster rocket. Cosmos-1956 is carrying scientific equipment intended to continue the exploration of outer space.

The satellite has been placed in the orbit with the following parameters:

—Initial period of revolution—88.8 minutes,
—Maximum distance from the earth's surface—265 kilometres.
—Minimum distance—196 km,
—Inclination of the orbit—82.3 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Launching Planned for Two Spacecraft to Mars

LD2406040588 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 23 Jun 88

[Text] Work is completing [as heard] in the Soviet Union for launching two large automatic spacecraft to Mars. On the program of the flight, which is to begin in the first half of next month, is studying Phobos, a satellite of Mars. A mobile probe and an automatic station are to be descended on the small celestial body. Mars itself will also be explored for several months. The director of the Institute of Space Research, Roald Sagdeyev, says the new experiments should promote preparations for a manned mission to Mars. In the opinion of the scientist, such a venture can be effected in the year 2001, or at least in 2005.

Military

Transcaucasus Civil Defense Issues Discussed

PM2306172588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jun 88 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel Yu. Dokudin: "Civil Defense Problems Discussed"]

[Text] Transcaucasus Military District—The state of civil defense and measures to further improve it was the issue examined at a session of the Transcaucasus Military District Military Council. A report was delivered by Major General A. Kartapov, the district's deputy commander for civil defense.

Taking part in the military council's work were D. Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; P. Gilashvili, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium; O. Cherkeziya, chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers; G. Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers; F. Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; and other party and soviet workers.

A military council resolution outlines specific measures to improve propaganda of civil defense knowledge.

The military council session was addressed by Army General M. Zaytsev, Colonel General N. Grachev, first deputy chief of USSR Civil Defense, and Lieutenant General I. Rodionov, commander of the district.

V.M. Arkhipov Signs Obituary of N.P. Dagayev

PM2306185188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jun 88 First Edition p 3

[Obituary of "N.P. Dagayev"]

[Excerpts] Colonel General of Aviation, Retired, Nikolay Pavlovich Dagayev, a veteran of the Great Patriotic War, has died. [passage omitted]

N.P. Dagayev was born 28 October 1901 in Moscow. [passage omitted]

In the postwar period N.P. Dagayev occupied a number of leading posts, was deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff for the Air Forces, chief of the Main Staff and deputy commander in chief of the Air Forces, chief of the Main Staff of the Country's Air Defense Forces, and inspector general under a USSR first deputy defense minister. In the period 1962-1975 he was chief of a main directorate of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and in his last years a military consultant to the USSR Defense Ministry Group of general inspectors. [Passage omitted]

[Signed] D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, V.M. Arkhipov, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, V.N. Lobov, A.N. Agafonov, S.A. Dikov, V.F. Tolubko, A.S. Zheltov, A.P. Silantyev, G.I. Obaturov, Ye.Ye. Kondakov, I.G. Novoseletskiy, V.A. Osipov, M.M. Petrov.

Women War Veterans Complain of Poor Reward

PM2306102388 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 14 June 1988 carries on page 2 under the headline "Women at War: Readers Take Up the Discussion" a 1,600-word roundup of readers' letters written in response to Ye. Losoto's reportage "War Assignment" series published on 23-28 February. The present selection of letters is the first response to that article. In one letter, Merkulova from Saratov complains that despite serving in Afghanistan she is not given preferential treatment on housing, medical care, or cooperative membership. Whenever she mentions her military service, officials respond: "There are many like you: No one sent you there; you went of your own accord."

V.V. Pirozhnikova, a 33-year old reader from Donetsk, complains that she has been waiting 10 years for a cooperative apartment and does not know when she will get one even now after serving in Afghanistan—a fact she finds "really offensive to us women," especially since "no one sent us there." A reader who asks for her name and address not to be published complains about poor treatment, especially on housing, on her return from service in Afghanistan and in particular rails against "bureacrats and dishonest chiefs." Valentina Nikolayevna Smirnova from Bendery in Moldavia complains that the contribution by women to the war in Afghanistan was misrepresented in Losoto's articles when he quoted a "career officer" who asserted that women do not enter high-risk areas. Smirnova cites the example of her own daughter, who was wounded in Afghanistan, and quotes from a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent's article on the heroic performance of battalion medical assistant Nina Katsura. The final letter in the review comes from Nataliya Nikolayevna Kruglyak, who writes from Kabul where she is a nurse. She complains about the "scant" coverage given to the work of nurses in Afghanistan. She describes the difficulties of the job, paints a picture of death and diseases such as typhoid fever and malaria, and complains that while men are decorated and praised for their work in Afghanistan, women are not treated in the same way.